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THE EMBASSY

OF

SIR THOMAS ROE TO INDIA,

1615—1619.

VOL. II.

SECOND SERIES,

No. II.

THE EMPEROR JAHANGIR
(*from Terry's "Voyage"*).

THE EMBASSY

OF

SIR THOMAS ROE

TO THE

COURT OF THE GREAT MOGUL,

1615—1619,

AS NARRATED IN HIS JOURNAL AND CORRESPONDENCE.

Edited from Contemporary Records

BY

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Inter eos autem qui relationes suas de hoc Regno prodiderunt, facile fide et dignatione princeps est THOMAS ROEUS, Eques, Magnae Britanniae Regis ad superiorem Indiae Regem Legatus.

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CORRIGENDA.

On p. 542, l. 19, *for* non *read* non?

On p. 544, l. 19, *for* Delhi *read* Agra.

THE

JOURNAL OF SIR THOMAS ROE

DURING

HIS EMBASSY TO INDIA

(CONTINUED).

(Brit. Mus.—*Addl. MS.* 6115.)

OCTOBER 3.—I receiued lettres from Agra that Indico was risen to such rates that they resolued to buy none, but aduised to make ouer their monyes to Amadavaz. So by neclect of the season the goodes is vnbought, and before any aduise can be made to Amadavaz it wilbe later then the last yeare; and so if any ship returne[1] it must stay 5 mounthes for dispatch. These lettres I answered not, resoluing not to meddle further. The faulte is eyther in the Commissions that restrayns the Cheefes from vsing oportunitye, or in their want of Iudgment in apprehending yt.

October 4.—I sent to Asaph Chan complements and to signifye my desire to visitt him; for the Kings remooue was certayne, and meanes of carriadge so scarce and doubtfull that it was tyme for mee to prouide. The kings

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[1] Direct to England from Surat.

Iourny was a secrett; much of his goodes and woemen were dispatchd for Agra, but the Pretence was for Mandow near Brampore, but nothing certayne. By Iudgment I gathered that the King would make a Countenance that way, as well to settle by his nearnes his sonne, Sultan Coronne, in the warrs of Decan (to whose Comminge *Chan Channa* and other Cheefes stood yet averse, and it was feared that some troubles would ensue), as alsoe to terrifye his enemyes and to force them to some agrement by his approach, which pretented a terrible prosecution of the warrs (which are made only by treachery, periury, and advantages, without one honorable blow on eyther syde); But without any determination to stay (as I conceiued by many cercumstances), but that if on the way, eyther his sonne were quietly receiued, or some advantageous peace made, hee would make a turne and spend 6 Monthes in progresse, and settle eyther at Agra or Dely. This was the most probable opinion, which seeing it would bee a great chardge to follow, and yet necessity requiring it, beeing the season of our busines, by the shipes arriuall and the Merchants having great quantetyes of goodes on their handes, vnlike to sell on the way, and unsafe to stay at Adsmere after the kings remoouall, I resolued by Consultation with Asaph chan to determine of myselfe and to aduise the factorye. Hee answered mee it was the end of their lent[1] and Mahomettes feast day or their Easter[2] next day, after which solemnitye I should bee welcome.

October 5.—The feast was kept shooting at a goulden ball on a Maypole; but I stirrd not abroad.

October 7.—I visited Asaph chan and propounded my attending the king. Hee promised mee Camells and Carriadge for my mony, and the Comoditye of his quarter, but no further ease. He Mooued my goeing with the Prince

[1] See note, p. 21.

[2] The Idu'l Fatr festival.

but I gaue him reasons of my refusall. I acquaynted him of the goodes and great Chardge in the handes of our factors, desiering him to aduise mee how to dispose them, for that to remayne here was dangerous, to remooue with the king was an infinite incomoditie and Chardge: Next hee would fauour mee soe much as to lett me know his opinion of his Maiesties settling, and which way hee would take; for then I could send before and build and prepare. Hee answered: for myselfe, it was fitt I should follow the king and I should haue such Comoditye as his seruants had, for my mony: but whither the king went, more then toward Mandoa: whither hee would stay ther, or goe forward or returne, and in what place hee would settle, or when, hee protested was shutt in the kings brest, and that hee could giue no answere nor aduise for our factors and goodes, other then to remooue to some place of retraict vntill the kings resolution were declared. So I prepared my selfe for the progresse, making prouision to goe in some reasonable fashion, beeing dayly in the worldes eye; yet with such sparing as was fitt. For these remooue all like Princes, with seuerall shiftes of tents that goe before, compassed in with Pales of *Pintadoes*,[1] which are ready euer two dayes for them. I would doe honestly and thriftely. For the factors I aduised them my opinion was they should with all speed, before Carriadge grew deere, send their goodes weekly to Agra, which may be done safely with little Chardge, and there to abide a resolution; for to wander with vs were very vnfitt and vnprofitable. The most probable place of the kings settling was there: that this Iourny was but a Circuit: if ther wanted any Cloth at Mandoa, Brampore was nere, which factory could furnish yt: if the king settled there they might come after

[1] "Painted" cloths, *i.e.*, chintzes, which formed the inner lining. On this system of a double set of tents—still a familiar feature of Indian camp life—see Bernier (p. 359).

at lesse Chardge, when prouision was made for them. This was my opinion and I was discharged. What they entend I knowe not; for they so depend on aduise in all matters from their Cheefes in Suratt, who in these busines cannot Iudge, or when they doe, too late, That my woordes were of no other then perswations. At night I went to the *Guzelchan* to the king to offer my attendance on his Maiestie in the Iourny. Hee accepted of yt, but demanded how farr I would goe. I answered: to the worldes end, if his Maiestie did. Then hee demanded whither hee went. I replied: I knewe not; whither so euer hee went I would wayt on him. He thancked mee and gaue Asaph chan order for mee, but what, I knowe not. Lastly hee asked if I went home this fleete and a New Ambassador in my place to Come. I answered: I thought not, for I Could not returne vntill I was eyther recald by my Master or dismissed by him; and for any other I knew the king my Master hoped it would bee Needlesse to keepe one alway here, not doubting of the frendship and Iustice of his Maiestie. These questions were somewhat extrauagant; but hee had beene very busy with his Cuppes, and suddenly fell asleepe.

October 8.—I receiued a lettre from Master Kerridge, of the date of the 24th September, 1616, by a *Patmar*[1] of the Princes, that our shipes were seene on the Coast and that hee was ready to passe for Swally.

October 9.—In the morning I receiued from the Admirall or Iudge of all Marine causes in Suratt a lettre signifying the arriuall of fower english shipes,[2] and therin offering mee all his furtherance and assistance in our speedy and faire dispatch; but withall hee gaue mee aduise that wee wanted there a sufficient procurator to follow our busines, which I vnderstood to bee one of that Country, for I knew the

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[1] *Pattamar*, a courier. [2] See p. 284.

brokar entertayned by ours was a foole and one that durst not open his mouth with such freedom as often our affayres required. But because his meaning was somwhat obscure, and might concerne a dislike of the Cheefe of the English, for that the woordes litterally imported that I should send downe a sober, discret, and graue man for a procurator in our busines to bee indifferent, which might alsoe (meaning a Mogull) on our behalfe [be ?] authorised by the king, I wrote to him to expound his entent and accordingly I would follow yt. Whervpon I was of opinion that no man was soe fitt as Iaddow, that remaynd here; for the mayne of our busines for dispatch lying at Suratt, and finding it fitt to reduce the factoryes att Adsmere and Agra to one, the brokar there is by report both well knowne and sufficient in all but his honesty (wherin there is little Choyce); but I stayed the resolution for the Admiralls answere.

Vpon reading this lettre I went to the Prince to heare what Newes hee had receiued. He acquaynted me that 4 ships were arriued, but that hee was enformed they ment to trouble and stay the boates of the Country, which hee wished mee to looke too, for that I should answer yt. I replyed I knew it was a wrongfull enformation: I was a sufficient Pledg, prouided that all couenants and promises were kept toward vs, and that wee might trade peaceably without any violence or oppression: That perhapes some of our factors might in anger threaten (which I perceiue they had done, it agreeing with their aduise to stay the Princes shipes), but that I would take order to accomodate all to his Highnes content. He answered that on his part all should be performed to our satisfaction, but hee required my present lettre to the Commander of our fleete for good order and quiettnes on our parts, as well in the towne as at Sea; which I promised. I sollicited Zulphercarcon for our mony with some sharpnes. Mirze Socorolla gaue his woord to pay it in ten dayes.

October 10.—Abdala chan, the great Gouernor of Amadavaz,[1] beeing sent for to Court in disgrace for many insolencyes and neglectes of the kinges authoritye, and thought that hee would stand on his guard and refuse: yet the Prince Sultan Coronne, whose Ambition wrought on euery aduantage, desirous to oblige so great a man (beeing one of the Cheefe Captaynes in these kingdomes), preuayled with him on his woord to submitt. So that comming in Pilgrams clothes with 40 seruantes on foote about 60 mile in Counterfait humiliation, finished the rest in his *Palanckee*, vntill hee arriued near the Court; but one dayes Iourny behynde hee had 2000 horse attending. This day hee was brought to the *Jarruco*[2] (the Publique sitting of the king to see games, and to here Complayntes) Chayned by the feete, bare foote betweene two Noblemen. Hee Pulld his Turbant in his eyes, because hee would see noe man before hee had the happines to behould the kinges face. After reuerence made and some few questions, the king forgaue him, caused his Irons to bee loosed, and clothed in a New vest of Cloth of Gould, Turbant, and Girdle according to the Custome.

The Prince, who entended to build his honor on the warrs of Decan, which his elder brother had left with disgrace and the great Commander *Chan Channa* did not prosper in (which doubtlesse was a Practiser with the Decannins, from whom hee receiued Pension[3]) caused his father to recall *Chan Channa*, who, refusing to come, desiered the king not to send Sultan Coronne to that warr, but one of

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[1] See p. 170. His exact offence, as appears from the *Túzak*, was insulting and imprisoning the official newswriter of the province, who promptly complained to the king.

[2] See p. 106.

[3] As here indicated, it was generally reported that the Khán-Khánán was secretly on friendly terms with the enemy against whom he had been sent (see Blochmann's *Áín-i-Akbari*, vol. i, p. 338).

his youngest sonns,[1] about 15 years of age. This Coronne tooke to hart; but prosecuting his Purpose of the warr, promised to Abdela chan the command of the Army vnder him, by displacing *Chan Channa*.[2] The king, fearing troubles, and knowing all the ambitions and factions of this sonne, the discontent of his two elder, the Power of *Chan Channa*, was desierous to accomodate all by accepting a Peace and confirming *Chan Channa* in the Gouerment he held, and closely to that end wrote a lettre of fauour and Purposed to send a vest according to the Ceremony of reconciliation to *Chan Channa*. But before hee dispatchd it, hee acquaynted a kinswoeman of his liueing in the *Zereglia* of his Purpose. She, whether false to her frend (wrought by Sultan Coronne) or out of Greatnes of hart to see the Top of her famelye after soe many merittes stand on soe fickle termes, answered Playnly that shee did not beleeue *Chan Channa* would weare any thing sent from the king, knoweing his Maiestie hated him and had once or twice offered him Poyson, which hee Putting in his bosome insteed of his Mouth had made tryall off: Therfore shee was Confident hee would not dare to Putt on his body any thing that came from his Maiestie. The King offered to ware it himselfe before her for an hower, and that shee should write to testefye it. Shee replyed hee would trust neyther of them both with his life; but if hee might liue quietly in his Command would doe his Maiestie true seruice. Whervppon

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[1] Sultáns Jahándár and Shahryár. As they were both born a few months before Akbar's death, they could only have been about eleven years old at this time.

[2] "Abdala Chan is here forgiuen, in extreame grace with the Prince. For anything I can judge of great men, hee liues in better fashion, both in his trayne, equipage and expence, and Carries more sowrnes or grauety in his Person then any here. You see the justice of the King. His sonne woorkes all to his owne endes, and setts vp this man agaynst Chan Channa." (Roe to the factors at Ahmadábád, October 25th, 1616.)

the king altered his Purpose and resolued to proceed in the sending Sultan Coronne, and to Countenance his reception would follow after with another Armie. *Chan Channa*, that discouered the storme, Practised with the Decans who were at his seruice to offer termes of Peace for a season (fynding noe other way to disolue this Cloude that hung ouer them both) vntill the king and Prince were departed and settled farther off. To this end Came two Embassadors this day from the Princes of Decan. They brought horses, barde,[1] richly furnished for Presentes. At first the king refused to heare them, and their guift, but turned them ouer to his sonne with this answer: if hee would haue Peace or Warr, it was in his breast. The Prince, aduanced by this fauour and swelling with Pride, resolued (though, as I was enformed, the Conditions were very honorable and such as the king would haue accepted) to goe on the Iourny, answering hee would treat of no Peace vntill hee were in the feeld with his Armie: *Chan Channa* should not so beguile him of the honor of finishing that warr. The ambitions of this young Prince are open, the Common talke of the People; yet his father suffers all, but entendes him not the kingdome; for Sultan Cursoronne, the Eldest brother, is both extreamly beloued and honored of all men, almost adored, and very Iustly, for his most Noble Partes;[2] and this the king knowes and loues, but thinckes his liberty would diminish his owne glory, and sees not that this sly youth doth more darken him by ambitious Practices then the other could by vertuous actions. Thus

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[1] Provided with horse-armour (see Nares' *Glossary*).

[2] In the same strain James Bickford writes to Sir Thomas Smythe, March 4th, 1616-17 (*O. C.*, No. 454), that Khusrú is "best beloued of his Father and euer was, though a prisoner, which is more for feare of him then hate to him, he being so generally beloued of all the Country and ioyned in intimate freindshipp with some of the greatest and most honorable men of the Country. Notwithstanding, the Kinge hath sworne that he shall raigne after him; but dares not giue him his libertie for feare of his flying out."

hee Nourisheth diuision and emulation betweene the brethren and Putteth such Power in the hand of the younger, supposing he can vndoe yt at his Pleasure, that the wisest foresee a rending and tearing of these kingdomes by diuision when the king shall pay the debt to Nature, and that all Partes wilbe torne and destroyed by a Ciuill warr. The history of this Countrye for the variety of subiect and the many Practises in the tyme of Ecbarsha, father of this king, by him then Prince, and these later troubles were not vnwoorthy Committing to writing; but because they are of so remote Partes many will despise them [and ?] because the People are esteemed barberouse few wil beleue them; therfore I content my selfe with the Contemplation, but I could deliuer as many rare and Cunning Passadges of State, subtile euasions, Policyes, answers, and adages, as I beleeue for one age would not bee easely equald. Only one that passed lately I cannot omitt, to show wisdome and Patience in a father, fayth in a seruant, falshood in a brother, impudent bouldnes in a faction that dare attempt anything, when the highest Maiestie giues them liberty beyond eyther the law of their owne Condition or the limitts of Policye and reason. The Prince Sultan Coronne, Normahall the deare queene, Aunt to his wife, Asaph chan his father-in-law, brother to the Queene, and Etiman Dowlett, father to them both, beeing they that now gouerne all and dare attempt anything, resolued it was not possible for them to stand if the Prince Sultan Corsoronne liued, whom the nobilitye loued, and whose deliuery or life would Punish their ambitions in tyme; therfore Practised how to bring him into their Power, that poyson might end him. Normahall attemptes the king with the false teares of womans bewitching flattery: that Sultan Corcoronne was not safe, nor his aspiring thoughtes deposed. The king heares, soothes yt, but would not vnderstand mor then shee deliuered playnly.

This fayling, they tooke oportunitye of the kinges beeing drunck, the Prince, Eteman Dowlett, and Asaph chan mooued the king that, for the safety of Sultan Corsoronne and his honor, it were fitter he were in the keeping of his brother, whose companyes would bee pleasing one to the other, and his safety more reguarded then in the handes of a *Rashboote* Gentile (to whome the king had committed him): therfore they humbly desiered his Maiestie that he might be deliuered into the handes of his deare brother; which the king granted, and so fell asleepe. They thought their owne greatnes such as, bringing the kings authority, no man durst refuse; and beeing once in their possession they would dispute the redeliuery. So the same night Asaph chan in the name of the king, sent by the Prince, came with a Guard to demand and receiue Sultan Cursoronne at the hand of Anna rah,[1] a *Rajah rashboot* to whom the king had entrusted him. He refuseth to deliuer his chardge, with this answere: that he was Sultan Coronns humble seruant, but that he had receiued the Prince his brother from the handes of the king and to no other would deliuer him; that hee should haue Patience till the Morning, when hee would dischardge himselfe to his Maiestie, and leaue it to his pleasure to dispose off. This answere Coold all. In the Morning Anna rah came to the king and acquaynted him with the demand of the Prince, his refusall and answer; and added his Maiestie had giuen him Chardge of his sonne, and made him the commander of 4000 horse, with all which hee would dye at the Gate rather then deliuer his Prince to the handes of his enemyes: if his Maiestie required him, hee was ready to obey his will, but hee would prouide for his owne inno-

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[1] This faithful Rájpút is mentioned by Jahángír in the *Túzak* as "one of my close attendants." His name was Anuprai; to which, for the bravery he showed in a dangerous encounter with a tiger, the king added the title of Singh Dalan ("tiger-tearer").

cency. The king replyed: you haue done honestly, faythfully: you have answered discretly: Continew your Purpose and take noe knowledge of any Commandes: I will not seeme to know this, neyther doe you stirr farther: hould your fayth and lett vs see how farr they will prosecute yt. The Prince and the faction the Next day, finding the king silent, hoping he might forgett what passd in wyne, tooke no notice of the grant nor of the refusall; but it fell (not without suspition) on both partes. This I insert to this end that you may beware scattering your goodes in diuers Partes and engaging your stock and seruantes farr into the Countrye; for the tyme will come when all in these kingdomes wilbe in combustion, and a few yeares warr will not decide the inueterate malice layd vp on all partes against a day of vengeance,[1] wherin if Sultan Corsoronne preuayle in his right, this kingdome wilbe a sanctuary for Christians, whome he loues and honors, fauouring learning, valour, the discipline of warr, and abhorring all couetousnes and discerning the basse Customes of taking vsed by his ancestors and the Nobilitye:[2] Yf the other Wynne wee shalbe the loosers, for hee is most earnest in his superstition, a hater of all Christians, Proud, Subtill, false, and barberously Tyranous.

Ther is dayly expected an Embassador from the Shabas,[3] king of Persia.

October 13.—The king was gone to hunt.

I receiued from Agra that Indico was well fallen and that they would proceed to invest.

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[1] The death (of which it was strongly suspected Sháh Jahán was guilty) of Sultán Khusrú in 1622, followed, four years later, by that of Parwíz, averted the fratricidal war here foretold. But the prophecy came true at the close of the reign of Sháh Jahán, who not only saw his sons slaughter one another in the struggle for mastery, but was himself forced to yield his throne to the victor.

[2] It is to be feared that Roe's dislike of Khurram inclined him to credit too easily the reported excellencies of the elder brother. Khusrú's previous behaviour certainly does not bear out the favourable view here expressed.

[3] Sháh Abbás.

At night the king returned, and sent mee a wild Pigg.

I receiued aduise of the arriuall of 4 shipes safe at the Port of Swally with lettres from England :[1] That they departed the Coast the 9 of March 1615 [1616] with 6 shipes, losing Company of the *Rose* about the N. Cape by weather : June the 12, 1616, the other 5 came safely to the bay of Saldania, wher the *Lyon* hoomward bound was ready for a wynd, her Commanders and People in health: staying [*blank*] dayes at the Roade without Newes of the small ship, they dispeeded the *Swan* to Bantam, for effecting the Busines, and sett saile for Suratt the 29 with fowre shipes, and Came to Anchor to their Port the 24th of September, 1616. In their Passadge (August 6) Neare the Islandes of Comora about 12° 50^{m} they had sight of a Carrick, burthen 1500 Tunne, Manned with 600, beeing Admirall of the fleete sent for Goa, bearing the flagg. The *globe* fetchd her vp to wyndward, and after salutations of the sea, the Carrick Commanded her to leaward, and seconded it with 5 shott thorowgh her Hull, which she requited with 18 and soe fell off. The Admirall and English fleete Comming vp demanded satisfaction for the Iniurye, which was replyed too with scorne; soe began a fresh fight; in few shott the Commander, Benjamin Ioseph,[2] was slayne and, the New established, they Continued yt. At the Euning shee rann herselfe ashore among the Rockes of Angazesia.

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[1] For an account of the voyage of this, the 1616 fleet, see Terry's book. He gives a spirited description of the fight with the carrack. Among the I. O. Records (*O. C.*, No. 456) there is an equally interesting account in a letter from Pepwell to the Company. For the Portuguese version, see Bocarro's *Decada XIII*, pt. ii, ch. clv, and Faria y Sousa's *Asia Portuguesa* (Stevens's transln., Bk. III, ch. xi).

[2] Of whom see Sir Clements Markham's *Voyages of William Baffin* (Hakluyt Soc., 1881), p. 38 *n.* Terry says he was "for years antient," and "had commanded before in sea-fights, which he met withal within the Streights in the Midland Sea." His successor, Henry Pepwell, was desperately wounded in the fight that followed, but lived to reach Surat and afterwards Bantam, where he succumbed early in 1618.

The fleete anchored short of her to attend the issue, and sent a boate to offer faier warrs, but about Midnight shee fired her selfe and burnd all the Next Morning; the English sending their boates could not approach, but beleeue that not one man was saued, by Circumstances very probable. The New Viceroy for Goa was in this ship,[1] whose resolution was the death of all the others.

October 14.—I sent for the Iesuite and gaue him knowledge of what had happened, desiering him to aduise yt for Goa: and wheras I had written a lettre to the Viceroy, which his Pride Pleased not to answere,[2] if hee, beeing a man of the Church and seeing how vnprosperously they had begunn a warr with vs, would yet admonish them to entertayne those Conditions of truce that were honorable for both Nations and send commissioners hither, I was ready to treate with them: in the Meane tyme to forbare on all Partes actes of hostilitye, and to draw and agree on some articles, with the reasons and pretentions on both sydes, to be Iudged off by our Masters, eyther for an open Warr or a full Peace, at the end of 3 years: but if this Course liked him, I required Honorable and faythfull dealing and expected to see good authoritye and to receiue and giue good securitye for Mutuall performance, for that I was not to be abused with the ould Coulors of a Spanish treaty: if hee refused once more these Christian offers, agreable to the Amytye of our most Royall Masters and their subiectes in the Partes of Europe, I then Professed his obstinacy and Pride enforced mee to declare him a breaker and disturber of the Comon Peace and so would pursue him and his Nation as an enemye. This Meditation [mediation?] the Padre most willingly undertooke, corresponding to his owne desiers and the Necessitye of their

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[1] This was an error, as Roe learned later.

[2] See p. 76.

affayres.[1] For our busines (if it could with honor be obteyned) it were a matter of great ease, both in tyme, Chardge, and expence, that wee might with one shipp safely trade on this Coast. I hope not in the successe, but I would not the fayling were on my Part. Now was the oportunitye to offer with honor, when wee needed it least, and if euer to effect yt in their Necessity. I confesse it were the better consayle to pursue them faynting and to follow the victory, but I found here was no disposition in this Prince to break with them; if hee did, no faith nor constancy, but would make the Peace for his owne endes; and without such an ayd by land the woorke was too great for a Company, The euent of warr vncertayne, the end of our Nation Peaceable and quiett trade, in the calmes wherof trafique and Merchandice only or principally flourished.

I went to the Prince with the Newes I had receiued; and because I had found his disposition was to draw my dependance on him, and that hee was ambitious of respect, I was indulgent toward him, and, hoping to take him in his owne Nettes, I propounded to him certayne offers which I pretended to receiue in Command from the King my Master to deliuer to his father, but for respect for his Highnes I addressd my selfe to him, both to acquaynt him with the Propositions, to desier his fauour, and to obteyne his Mediation to present mee to the King at Night. He demanded what was my desier. I first deliuered him Certayne Complementes sent by my Soueraigne to the King: that his Maiestie, taking Notice of the fauour showed to our Nation, and that the Portugalles for our sakes robd and abused the subiectes of this kingdom, hee was bound in honor to enter into the quarrell and had

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[1] "Geuen to the Padre the Jesuitt Azorius and Bellermines woorkes, cost in England 5*l.* 15*s.* Hee vndertook to treat a Peace betwene the viceroy and mee" (Roe's Accounts: *Addl. MS.* 6115).

Commanded mee to offer to his Maiestie the assistance of our fleete arriued, eyther for the Chastising of the Common enemy or for the safe Conducting of the shipes of his Dominion into the redd sea: and that, though now ther was a truce, yet I thought it my dutie to signifie to his Maiestie the affection and honorable care of my Master in beeing ready to performe all the offices of a good ally and frend. He answered that with the Portugall he had noe warr: to wefte[1] ther fleete was Needlesse. I replyed wee had lately had a victory ouer a Carrick which I supposed would draw on desire of reuenge and that the Portugall would bee attempting, if but for our sakes, to doe injury to our frendes: that his Coast could not be quiett for our discentions: that therfore, though this instant his Highnes had noe Neede, yet if hee would bee Pleased to giue vs a Riuer and towne to fortefie in, for a retrayct for our shipping in foule weather, wee would alway keepe such a strength as should secure the Coast on all occasions. This was that I aymed at, and that I knew was ill Musique; but I receiued order, which I obeyed, though I can giue reasons that to be denyed yt is for our advantage in my Iudgment,[2] as our busines standes, and is mistaken by those from whom I receiue directions; and was sure of refusall. Hee answered with scorne that his father nor hee needed not our assistance: he ment not warr with the Portugall for our sakes, neyther would euer deliuer any fort to vs to receiue his owne at our Curtesye: if wee came as Merchantes wee were wellcome: wee had Suratt for our Port: wee weare seated in Amadavaz, Brampoore, Baroch, Adsmere, Agra, and Lahor, or any other Citty was free for vs to abyde, buy, and sell: in what could wee in reason demand more? I replyed all those Places were inland, and at Suratt noe safety for our shippes. Hee returned

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[1] Convoy.

[2] A change of opinion; see p. 94.

quick that other Port would not bee giuen in that manner, Nor the Portugalls neuer requird yt. I thought to haue proceeded, but finding his sharpnes and Negligence, I ended. At Night I went to the king. I found Asaph chan ready to meete mee with smiles and embraces and Newes of our shipes. New hope of Presentes made al wayes easye. I desired him first to deliuer the Complementes of my Master in forme, as I did in the Morning to the Prince, with the same ouertures. The king with much more Curtesy receiued them, but begann with the presentes. I first mentioned our late fight and victory, which hee seemed to reioyce in, and to applaud the valor of our Nation, but fell off to: what hath the king sent mee? I answered: many tokens of his loue and affection: That my Master knew hee was lord of the best Part of Asia, the richest Prince of the East, that to send his Maiestie rich Presentes were to Cast Pearles into the sea, the mother and store house of them: that therfore his Maiestie thought yt vnnecessarie, but had Presented him with his loue, with many Curious toyes, which I hoped would giue him Content. Hee vrdged mee to some particulars, which I Named. Hee asked for french Muff or veluett. I answered my lettres were not arriued: some other was come which hee desiered. Hee enquired for dogges.[1] I tould him some had their fortune in the fight, some dyed, two were preserued for him: at which hee reioyced; and Continued if I could procure him a horse of our Great size such as I had described (beeing a Rone or Dutch horse) hee would accept it better then a Crowne. I replyed: I would doe my indeauour for his Maiesties satisfaction, but I feared it could not bee effected. Hee

[1] A mastiff presented by Edwards fought with and killed first a leopard and then a boar which some dogs sent by the Shah of Persia would not touch. This gave the Mogul a high opinion of English dogs.

answered : if I would procure on, hee would giue mee a *leck* of *rupias*. I desired his Maiesties lettre for the Comming of these presentes without search, and for the good vsadg of our People. Hee replyed the Port was his sonns, but sent for him and Publiquely gaue expresse order for what soeuer I would requier and take on mee,[1] that it should Not be searched nor pay Custome, but bee dispeeded with expedition safe to my handes, that I might distribute yt at my discretion : that hee should Command the good reception of our People, and finally that hee should giue mee Content in all my desiers. This generally extended not to the grant of a fort, for that clause Asaph chan refused to deliuer. This Chardge was very round and harty in the king, and a grace to mee. The Prince called Asaph chan and mee, and there professed and promised before his father and all the Court to giue mee all reasonable Content. This is the strength of New Presentes.

October 15.—I dispatched for Suratt the generallity of this, and my aduises to the Commanders ; but because I lately sent downe a *firmane* sufficient, I would not retard our busines, but signifyed this grace and fauour and if any thing yet wanted that in few dayes they should receiue this New promised Command. The Prince sent mee woord, wittnessed by two lettres from the Iudg of the *Alfandica*, that I brake Couenant with him : that our People came ashore and by force would passe the Custome house, without showeing any goodes to the Gouernor according to my Promise : that his officers for feare of his displeasure had suffered them : but required my order in yt. I knew the Complaynt was false and to excuse the knauery of the Iudg, who had wronged vs and fearing Complaynt began first : yet I aduised roundly to the

[1] *I.e.*, all things which Roe would certify to have been sent for presentation.

Commander and Cape Merchant, as my lettres will declare.[1]

I receiued from Mesolapatan that Captain Keeling had taken 2 Portugall barkes and a ship, one on the Coast of Cochyn, laden with tynn, the other fraighted from Bengala, which hee Carried to Bantam :[2] That Sir Robert Sheirly was dismissd with disgrace from Goa, and that hee was on his way overland to Mesolapatan to seeke Passadge—vnprobable and I beleeue vntrue.[3]

October 16.—I went to Afzul chan,[4] the Princes Secretary, to giue him satisfaction in the Complaynt, and there opened to him the abuse and falshood, requiring his highnes lettres according to the kinges order. He tould [me?] he would informe the Prince and draw vs a Command to our full Content ; and that, seeing wee thought the Iudg of the *Alfandica* vniust, hee desiered mee to name any one in Suratt to sitt in the Custome house to doe vs right and hee should be ioyned in Commission for our behalfe. I replyed I knew none more vpright then Abram chan, the Gouernor of the Towne, whom hee promised should haue such order to meete with the Customer in the office on our Part to moderate the abuses of the other, and that all other our Contentmentes should bee giuen in Chardge to him ; that at night, if I sent, I should fynd these ready. Ther, as a secrett to engage the Prince, I tould him of the vnicorns horne,[5] which I would not name to the king that

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[1] See ff. 125 and 126 of the MS., and *O. C.* No. 404 in the I. O. Records. In the letter to Kerridge, Roe begged him to hasten the despatch of the presents, including one for Núr Mahál. "The neglect of her last yeare," he wrote, "I haue felt heauely."

[2] See Peyton's journal in *Purchas*, vol. i, p. 528.

[3] As indeed it was. Sherley remained in Goa until his departure for Lisbon.

[4] See p. 160 *n*.

[5] On the "unicorn's" horn, its supposed efficacy as an antidote for poison, and its consequent value—"worth halfe a city," says Dekker in *The Guls Horne-booke*—notes will be found in Burnell and Tiele's *Linschoten*, vol. ii, p. 9 ; Grey's *Della Valle*, vol. i, pp. 5, 7 ; and Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. ii, p. 273. Compare also Ovington (*Voyoge to Surat*,

his Highnes might buy it for a rarety to bestow on his father. I told him of the rich estimation and qualetyes: that it was esteemed among the Iewells of Princes: but that I had no Power to giue it, beeing of great valew: that the Merchanntes made it a secrett and intended not to suffer it come out of the ship, but that for his Highnes Content, if hee Pleasd to buy it and would giue order for mony at Suratt, I would procure his officers should see yt. This I hoped would both sett an extreame appetite on the Prince to passe it at a high Price, and would insinuate an extraordinary desire in mee to doe him seruice; and if hee reuealed it to the king, I would answere: because it was not in my Power to giue his Maiestie I was ashamed

1689, p. 267), who says that one of the English Presidents at Surat believed so much in its "Medicinal Excellence and singular Quality . . . that he exchang'd for a Cup made of this Horn a large capacious Silver Bowl of the same bignes." Fuller, in his *Worthies* (p. 193), speaking of a unicorn's horn, says: "Amongst the many precious rarities in the Tower, this (as another in Windsor-Castle) was, in my memory, shown to people."

The specimen here referred to failed to find a purchaser. The Prince declined to buy it at the price asked; and it was then offered to Mukarrab Khân for 5,000 rupees. In order to test its supposed virtue the latter "made tryall by the liues of a pigeon, goat, and man, which they loosing itt also lost his esteeme" (Brown to the Company: *O. C.* No. 609). Roe was shocked at this callous experiment, and wrote gravely to Brown: "I hope neyther your Consent nor Commendation ayded to trye the vnicorns horne on a man. But Mochreb-chan may bee deceived; it may bee true and rare without any such vertue as absolutly and alone to bee an Antidote to any Poyson. Ther is no such property in the best of the world; and, if it were soe, he knowes one *seare* of yt were woorth more mony then you demanded. But lett him know this from mee (which is true) that wee esteeme it in Europe a great Cordiall and good to strengthen the stomack, to Cheere and remooue melancholy from the hart, and a preseruer against Poyson equall to beazer stone; yet it is not expected that beazer alone shall Protect a man from a strong Poyson. Breefly, besides the rarotye (beeing a Jewell kept of all Princes) it is vsd in all sorts of Cordiall Phisique to make restorers and strengtheners, with gould, Pearle, Corall, amber and such; and for virtue is held equall with any. . . ." (*Addl. MS.* 6115, f. 200). But Mukarrab Khân was not to be tempted; and Roe therefore directed that the precious horn should be sent on board ship again with a view to its being despatched to Persia. This intention, however, was not carried out, the horn being sent to Achin, though there also no purchaser could be found (*O. C.* No. 753).

to name yt, but had mooued the Prince to buy it for his vse. For this I had many thanckes and Complements. His Secretary mooued by his Highnes order to procure for him two Gunners out of our fleete to serue him in this yeares warrs for good Pay, which Curtesy hee would take very kindly and requite yt. I promised to effect his desier, and doubted not to procure them of the Commander, seeing ordinary ones in that art will exell here.[1] I pressd the Clearing of Zulpheckcarcons account; though I knew not what it was, for Master Kirridge aduised satisfaction of 9000 *mamoodies* for which I sent bills, and that of the 8000 remayning he had receiued content for two Clothes and a halfe, but not how much nor what rested. Yet I vrdged the vse of our mony now to employ, and showed his bill: that what was mistaken, wee would bee answerable for; which hee promised Master Biddolph this day or the morow.

Abdala-chan came to visitt the Prince, so brauely attended as I haue not seene the like. To the Gate his drumms and musique a horsback, about 20, made noyse enough, fifty *Peons* with white flagges carried before him, and 200 souldiers well mounted in Coates of Cloth of Gould, veluett, and rich silkes, which entered with him in ranck; Next his Person 40 targiteers[2] in like liueryes. He made humble reuerence, and presented a black Arabian horse with furniture studded with flowers of gould enameld and sett with small stones. The Prince according to Custome returnd a Turbant, a Coate, and a Gyrdle.

October 17.—The Prince Pursuing his Purpose of finishing the Decan warrs by his owne Person, and vndertaking to giue answere to the Ambassadors, giues none, but deteynes them vntill his approach. But, beeing to depart, he

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[1] Roe duly transmitted this request to Surat, but no one in the fleet was willing to accept the employment.

[2] Soldiers armed with sword and buckler (targe).

nor his Party thought not themselues secure if Sultan Corsoronne remayned in the handes of Annarah: that in his absence the king might be reconciled, and by his liberty all the glory and hopes of their faction would vanish and the Iniury and ambition hardly bee Pardoned. They newly assayle the kinges constancy to deliuer vp his sonne into the handes of Asaph chan, as his guardian vnder Sultan Coronne. They Pretend that it will fright *Chan Channa* and the Decanns, when they shall heare that this Prince is soe fauoured, who nowe comes to make warr vpon them, that the king hath deliuered vp his eldest sonne, in that as it were the whole kingdome and hope of succession and the Present Power therof. The King, who had yeeilded himself into the handes of a woman, could not defend his sonne from their Practises. Hee either sees not the ambition or trustes it too farr in Confidence of his owne Power, and consentes: soe that this day hee was deliuered vp, the souldiers of Anna-rah dischardged, and a supply of Asaph chans planted about him, with assistannce of 200 of the Princes horse.[1] His sister and diuers weomen in the *Seraglia* mourne, refuse their meate, crye out of the kinges dotage and Crueltye, and professe that if hee dye ther will 100 of his kindred burne for him in memorye of the kinges bloudines to his woorthyest sonne. The king giues fayre woordes, protesteth no intent of ill toward the Prince, and promiseth his deliuery and sendes Narmahall to appease these enraged ladyes, but they Curse, threaten, and refuse to see her. The Common People all murmer ; they say the king hath not deliuered his sonnes but his owne life into the handes of an Ambitious Prince and a treacherous faction: that Corsoronne cannot Perish without scandall to the father or

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[1] "On the 4th [Ábán] Khusrú, who was in the charge for safe-keeping of Anirai Singh Dalan, for certain considerations was handed over to Ásaf Khán" (*Túzak*, Mr. Rogers' translation).

reuenge from him: therfore hee must goe first and after him his sonne; and so thorough their bloodes this youth must mount the Royall seate. New hopes are spread of his redeliuery, and soone alayed; euery man tells newes according to his feares or desires. But the Poore Prince remaynes in the Tygers Power, refuseth meate, and requires his father to take his life and not to lett it bee the triumph and delight of his enemyes. The whole Court is in a whisper; the Nobility sadd; the Multitude, like it selfe, full of tumor and Noyce, without head or foote; only it rages but bendes it selfe vpon noe direct end. The issue is very dangerous; Principally for vs, for among them it matters not who wynns. Though one haue right and much more honor, yet hee is still a moore, and cannot bee a better Prince then his father, who is soe good of disposition that he suffers ill[1] men to gouerne, which is woorse then to bee ill; for wee were better beare Iniuryes of Princes then of their ministers. So that I may say of this tyme and the constitution of this state as Tacitus did of the Empire of Roome when it was contended for by Otho and Vitellius: *Prope euersum orbem etiam cum de principatu inter bonos certaretur: vtrasque impias preces, vtraque detestanda vota, inter duos quorum bello solum id scires deteriorem fore qui vicissitt.*[2] And although the elder brother is not yet in Armes, nor so like (if he Preuayle) to Tyrannise, yet it is to bee feared, *Rebus secundis eatiam*

[1] Purchas (or his printer) has turned this into "all," and has thus entirely altered the sense.

[2] *Hist.*, i, 50. The passage is thus translated by Messrs. Church and Brodribb: "The world . . . . was well-nigh turned upside down when the struggle for empire was between worthy competitors, yet the Empire continued to exist after the victories of Caius Julius and Cæsar Augustus; the republic would have continued to exist under Pompey and Brutus. And is it for Otho or for Vitellius that we are now to repair to the temples? Prayers for either would be impious, vows for either a blasphemy, when from their conflict you can only learn that the conqueror must be the worse of the two." Roe has omitted a portion of the quotation, and has thus to a slight extent obscured the sense.

egregios duces insolescere.[1] I did aduise our little Common wealth to keepe close and neare togither, to attend the issue, to know no syde, to make few debtes, and to keepe as few residencyes as the necessitye of their affaires will suffer.

October 18.—I Sollicited my New promised *firmaen*, but in these troubles and preperation of remooue I found slow dispatch.

October 19.—The Persian Ambassador Mahomett Roza Beag[2] about noone came into the Towne with a great troup, which were Partly sent out by the king to meete him with 100 Eliphantes and musique, but no man of greater qualetye then the ordinary receiuer of all strangers. His owne trayne were about 50 horse, well fitted in Coates of Cloth of Gould, their bowes, quivers, and Targetes richly garnished, 40 shott, and some 200 ordinary *Peons* and attenders on bagage. He was carried to Rest in a roome within the kinges outward court till euening, when he came to the *Darbar* before the king, to which Ceremony I sent my Secretary to obserue the fashion. When hee approched, He made at the first rayle 3 *Teselims*[3] and one *Sizeda*[4] (which is Prostrating himselfe and knocking his head against the Ground); at the entrance in, the like; and so presented the Shabas his lettre; which the kinge took with a little motion of his body, asking only: How

[1] *Ibid.*, ii, 7. "In the day of success even great leaders grow insolent."

[2] Muhammad Razá Beg.

[3] See p. 135.

[4] The *sijdah*, or prostration, introduced by some of Akbar's courtiers upon the establishment of his "Divine faith." As, however, it was one of the positions at prayer, it was looked upon by the Muhammadans in general as the exclusive right of God; and Akbar, though pleased with the practice, was obliged to forbid its use in public. Jahángír encouraged it, and in the *Túzak* he notes with evident satisfaction that the Persian ambassador on this occasion "performed the dues of prostration and salutation" (Mr. Rogers' translation); but it was always unpopular and Sháh Jahán abolished it upon his accession to the throne (Blochmann's *Áín-i-Akbari*, vol. i, pp. 159, 213).

doth my brother? without title of Maiestie; and after some few woordes hee was Placed in the seauenth ranck against the rayle by the doore, below so many of the kinges seruantes on both sides, which in my Iudgment was a most inferiour Place for his masters Embassador, but that hee well deserued it for dooing that reuerence which his Predecessores refused, to the dishonor of his Prince and the Murmer of many of his Nation.[1] It is said hee had order from the Sophy to giue content, and therby it is gathered his message is for some ayde in mony agaynst the Turke, in which kind he often findes liberall succour, though it bee pretended hee Comes only to treat a peace for the Decanns, whose protection the Shabas taketh to hart, envyeing the encrease of this Empire. The King according to Custome gaue him a handsom turbant, a vest of gould, and a girdle, for which againe hee made 3 *Tesselims* and one *Sizeda*, or ground curtesye. Hee brought for Presentes 3 tymes 9 horses of Persia and Arabia, this beeing a Ceremonius Number among them, 9 mules very fayre and lardg, 7 Camells laden with veluett, two Sutes of Europe Arras (which I suppose was Venetian hanginges of veluett with gould, and not Arras), two Chestes of Persian hanginges, on Cabinett rich, 40 Muskettes, 5 Clockes, one Camell laden with Persian Cloth of gould, 8 Carpettes of silke, 2 Rubyes ballast, 21 Cammelles of wyne of the Grape, 14 Camelles of distilld sweet waters, 7 of rose

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[1] Kerridge, writing to Roe on the 10th of this month (*Addl. MS.* 9366), says that the Mogul expects envoys from Persia to give the "accostomed obedience," though, "his nature being gentle and debonaire," he permits Christians to use their own ceremonies of salutation. At a later date, the Persians appear to have received better treatment, for Bernier (p. 120) says that the privileges of saluting according to the customs of their own country, and of delivering their letters "without the intervention of an *Omrah* . . . belong exclusively to Persian ambassadors," although they are not granted, "even to them, without much hesitation and difficulty." Bernier tells an amusing tale (p. 151) of Sháh Jahán's expedient to force a Persian ambassador to make reverence *à l'Indien*, and the way in which he was foiled.

waters, 7 daggers sett with stones, 5 swoordes sett with stones, 7 Venetian looking glasses, but these soe faire, so rich that I was ashamed of the relation. These Presentes were not deliuered now, only a bill of them. His owne furniture was rich, leading nine spare horses trapped in Gould and siluer; about his Turbant was wreathed a Chayne of Pearles, rubies, and Turqueses, and three Pipes of gould[1] answerable for three spriges of feathers. Yet I caused diligence [diligent ?] obseruance to be made of his reception and compared it with myne owne, and fynd he had in nothing more grace, in many thinges not so much; in ranck far inferiour to that alowed mee, except only his meeting without the Towne, which by reason of my sicknes was omitted to be demanded. Neyther did the king receiue the Shabas his lettre with such respect as my Masters, whom hee called the King of England his brother, the Persian barely brother, without addition (which was an obseruation of the Iesuites, that vnderstood the language).[2]

October 20.—I receiued a lettre according to promise, written in the Princes name Commanding the Gouernor of Suratt and others to sitt with the Iudg of the *Alfandica* in our behalfe, repeating the Complaynt made by mee and by the Iudg against vs, and giuing order so to dispose of the busines that wee might receiue no more discontent, and in that matter full and effectuall; but concerning the presents, which hee so much desiered to haue choyce in, only these woordes: and for all Presentes sett too your seale and send them to Court—without naming to which Court (which was now seperating) not [nor ?] to whom, but leauing it doubtfull. I suspected it was not right, whervpon I sent back the lettre to the Secretary

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[1] Aigrette-holders.

[2] Yet Jahángír not only describes the embassy in the *Túzak*, but gives the Sháh's letter in full; whereas Roe's mission was not thought worthy of mention.

with answere that I doubted not his Highnes meaning was faire, according to the order of the king, but, to avoyd all occasion of euasion or error in those who sought all aduantage of Construction to wrong vs, I desiered him in few woordes to explayne it for future quiett, expressing the termes that the Presents are to be sent vnopened to the handes of the Ambassador at the Court. Hee vnderwrote the lettre, but with such Cunning that it might bee Construed both wayes like the ould Oracles: Concerning Presentes doe as they will, but lett the Prince loose nothing: if wrong bee offered, doe not suffer yt. Our sollicitor returned it: that it was very well and to my Content. Yet I misdoubted fraud, and sent for a translator, who found the sence so intricat and doubtfull I could scarse vnderstand the riddle. I only discouered the Cunning was to bring them into the Princes handes, as it were by error on the way, who would eyther carue all to himselfe or send some part to the king in my Name. This abuse Iustly enraged mee, both against some of our owne and my linguist that receiued it soe slightly without reading, and stirrd mee to putt it to triall; whervpon I returned yt: that it was now more obscure then before and woorse for the correction; that if this were all the fruictes of the kinges gracious grant, I should bee compelld to moue it anew. The Secretarye replyed he durst not transgresse his order, but desired mee to meete him in the Morning at the Princes.

October 21.—I went to the Prince and opened my desire to haue that Clause expounded, at which his Highnes stucke a little and I perceiued the Purpose to be as hollow as I imagined. Hee demanded then how hee should haue his Presents or see such toyes as came vp, and mooued mee to goe with him. I replyed I could not doe soe vntill I had deliuered my Masters Message and tokens to the King, but, that finished, I would my selfe attend his Highnes

with his Presentes, and all such raretyes as came to my handes should bee sent after him. Hee pressd mee to passe my woord, and so I obteyned order for the *firmaen* to my Content. His Highnes, looking on a Whyte feather in my hatt, demanded if I would giue it him. I replyed I would not offer that I had worne, but, if he Pleasd to Command it, that or anything in my Power was to serue him and I was highly honored in his acceptance. Hee asked if I had any more. I answered: three or fower of other Coulors. He replyed if I would giue them all, for that hee was to show his horses and seruantes to the king within two dayes and that hee wanted some, beeing very rare in these Parts. I promised to bring all I had on the Morow, that his Highnes might take his Pleasure.

Abdala chan, in a Gallant Equipage both of his Person and attendantes in apparell strange and antique, but in these partes *a la soldado*, Presented the Prince with a white horse, the saddle and furniture of gould enameld, a beast of delicate shape, life, and Couradge ; who returned him a swoord Playne with a belt of leather. Ther were brought before him many others, the hiltes of siluer, Chapes sett with small stones, and targettes couered with gould velvetts, some Paynted and bossed with gould and silver, which hee gaue to his seruantes against this muster, many saddles and furniture of gould, rich sett with stones, of his owne were showed for spare horses, his bootes embrodered, & all other ingredientes of brauery. I confesse the expence is woonderfull, and the riches dayly seene invaluable.

This night Passd it is reported 6 of the Princes seruantes came to Murther Sultan Cursoronne, but were refused the key by the Porter ; that the Queene mother[1] is gone to the

[1] Coryat notes the respect and affection with which she was treated by her son. As is well known, she was one of Akbar's Hindú consorts, being daughter of Rája Bíhárí Mal and sister of Rájá Bhagwán Dás of Jaipur. Her death occurred in 1623.

king with an ouerture of all the Practice. The truth is vncertayne and it is dangerous to aske.

At euening I went to the *Durbar* to visitt the king, wher I mett the Persian Embassador with the first muster of his Presentes. Hee appeared rather a Iester or Iugler then a Person of any grauety, running vp and downe, and acting all his woordes like a mimick Player. Now indeed the *Atashckannoe*[1] was become a right stage. Hee deliuered the Presentes with his owne handes, which the king [with] smiles and Cherfull Countenance and many woordes of Contentment receiued. His toong was a great aduantage to deliuer his owne busines, which hee did with so much flattery and obsequiousnes that it Pleased as much as his guift: euer calling his Maiestie King and Commander of the world, forgetting his owne Master had a share in yt; and on euery little occasion of good acceptation hee made his *Tezelims*. When all was deliuered for that day hee prostrated himselfe on the ground, and knocked with his head as if hee would enter in. The guiftes were: a fayre quiver for bow and arrowes, delicatly embrothered; all sorts of Europian fruictes artificiall in dishes; many other foulding Purses and knackes of leather, wrought with needlewoork in coloured silkes; shooes embrodered and stichd; Great Glasses inlayd in frames; one square Peice of Veluett embrodered high with gould in Panes, betweene which were Italian Pictures wrought in the stuff, which hee sayd was the king and queene of Venice (which, as I suppose, was the hanginges called Arras);[2] of these six were giuen, one only showed; many other *tricanados*[3] of small valew; after, the 3 Nines of horses and Mules, which were

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[1] The *tosha-khána* was properly the repository in which articles received as presents, or intended to be given as presents, were stored; but here, as in a subsequent entry, Roe uses the term to mean the royal place of audience.

[2] See p. 296.

[3] Trinkets or trifles (Span.).

faire ones ; the horses eyther had lost their flesh or bewty, for except one or two I Iudged them vnfitt for to be sent or taken by Princes. So he returned with many antique trickes to his Place, far inferior to that allowed mee, which was alone and aboue all subjectes (which at first Asaph chan would haue Putt mee by, but I maynteyned it as my due). This is but the first act of his Presenting. The Play will not bee finished in ten dayes.

At night I sent to the Princes secretary for my promised writing ; but his Highnes was loath to lett the Presentes passe without ransacking and had changed his mynd, refusing to seale the lettre.

October 22.—I went early to the Secretary to know the reason of this inconstancy and the Princes resolution. He answered I could not haue the letter sealed vnlesse I would consent to haue all opened in the *Alfandica,* Pretending that the Merchanntes would pass vp Jewelles and Pearles to sell vnder that Coulor. I assured him on my woord they were dearer in England then here: that wee brought none: that I would not countenance any thing vnder that Coulor to abuse the Prince and dishoner my selfe: that I scorned to saue Petty Customes basely: that I gaue among the Princes Porters dayly more. I vrdged the kinges command, his Masters Promise ; but no reason, no importunitye would preuayle against this gredy desier of Presentes, though in yt hee robbd his father. What will not youth and insolency attempt when it knowes no limitts, when it is aduanced beyond the Capacitye and law of reason ? I replied as peremptorily that I was as resolute not to bee abused : that I would keepe these aboord the shippes vntill his Maiestie sent for them, and in future tyme I would take order that my Master should send no more guiftes to be so vnciuilly entreated : that it was a busines in which my Honor was interessed, and for no Complacency I would not yeild to be riffled with my con-

sent: that these injuryes were so grose that I doubted not the king would haue sence of them: in the meane tyme I would preuent their greedy purpose of oppression. So I rose to depart. Hee importuned mee to goe with him to the Prince and moue it once more. I replyed I had the kings order and his Masters woord before his Majestie, since his owne Command, and all this beeing retracted, I could expect no more but delay and Iniurye: that I would seeke to the king and no further. But hee pressd mee so far as I yeelded; and at my comming I deliuered him[1] two Plumes, and two birdes of Paradice.[2] Hee accepted them easely, and my busines beeing mooued and my resolution made knowne not to consent to open nor to send them vp but by the handes of my seruants, att last he yeilded and gaue Command to the Secretary to dispatch mee.

At Night I went to the *Durbar* to obserue the Ambassador of Persia. I found him standing in his ranncke and often remooued and sett lower as great men came in. The king once spake to him, and he danced to the tune therof, but gaue noe present; only the king Commanded hee should be feasted by the Nobles. The tyme was spent in seeing saddles and furniture for the remooue, of which his Maiestie gaue some to his followers, it beeing dayly expected to rise; the kinges tentes were out 4 days since.

I sent to the Secretarye for my *firmaen*, but hee delayd yt with excuses.

October 23.—I sollicited the grant; but the Persian dined with him.

October 24.—The king remooued to Hauaz Gemall,[3] and called the Persian Ambassador, wher at night hee eate and drancke before the king with the Nobilities in the same

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[1] The Prince.
[2] "Worth, the plumes 20s., and the birds of Paradise 60 rupees" (Roe's accounts: *Addl. MS.* 6115). [3] See p. 159*n*.

fashion that I did the birthday ; the difference only was the king gaue him for expence 20,000 *rupias*, for which hee made innumerable *Teselims* and *Sizedaes*, not rising from the ground in good space, which extremely pleased the king and was base but profitable Idolatrye. The Prince attending his father, I could gett noe dispatch in my busines. These Presents yet were not digested ; all delayes, all fraudes practised to possesse them first. The Condition of this People, my sufferinges and trauell will appeare, I doubt not to the ease of my successors, how to deale with them.

I receiued lettres from Agra, aduertising all the factory were disposed away. I aduised my opinion it was to no vse to follow the Court: that it were better to abyde togither vntill wee saw where wee should settle: otherwise the chardge would bee infinite. So much I propounded to ours here, but know not their resolution.

October 25.—The king returned at Euening, hauing beene ouer night farr gone in wyne. Some by Chance or malice spake of the Merry night Past, and that many of the Nobilitye dranck wyne, which none may doe but by leaue. The king, forgetting his order, demanded who gaue it. It was answered: the *Buxy* ; for no man dares say it was the king, when hee would only doubt yt. The Custome is that when the king drinckes, which is alone, sometyme hee will command that the Nobilitye shall drinck after, which if they doe not, is an offence too ; and so euery man that takes a cup of wyne of the officer his name is written and he makes *Teselem*, though perhapes the kings eyes are mistye. The king, not remembring his owne Command, called the *Buxy* and demanded if hee gaue the order. He replyed : no (falsly, for hee receiued it and by name called such as did drinck with the Ambassador) ; wherat the king called for the list and the Persons, and fined some 1, some 2, some 3 thowsand *rupies*, some lesse,

and some that were nearer his Person he caused to bee whippd before him, receiuing 130 stripes with a most terrible instrument, hauing at each end of fower Cordes irons like spurr rowelles, so that euery stroke made fower woundes. When they lay for dead on the Ground, hee Commanded the standers by to foote them, and after the Porters to breake their staues vpon them. Thus most cruelly mangled and brused they were carried out, of which one dyed in the Place. Some would haue excused it on the Ambassador; but the king replyed he only bad giue him a Cupp or too. Though drunckennes be a Common and a glorious vice, and an exercise of the kinges, yet it is soe strictly forbidden that no man can enter the *Guzelchan* wher the king sitts, but the Porters smell his breath, and, if hee haue but tasted wyne, is not suffered to com in; and, if the reason bee knowne of his absence, hee shall with difficulty skape the whip; for, if the king once take offence, the father will not speake for the sonne. So the king made the Company pay the Persian Ambassadors reward.

October 26.—I sent to Socorolla for the *firmaen.* Hee sent mee a Copy as ambiquious and fraudulent as the former; which I refused, and drew the misliked clause my selfe, which I sent back and was promised that on the Morow it should bee sealed.

October 28.—The kinges day of remooue at hand, I sent to Asaph chan for a warrant for carriadges; the Merchantes, hauing sought all the towne to remooue their goodes to Agra, could find none. So I receiued order, beeing enrolled by his Maiestie, vpon my offer, for 20 Camelles, 4 Carts, and 2 Coches at the kinges Price; whereof I disposed as many as the factors needed to their vse.

But it were an extreame error to omitt a Passadge, either of woonderfull basenes in this great Monarch or

a triall of mee. The king had Condemned diuers theeves, among which were some boyes. Ther was noe way to saue their liues, but to sell them for slaues. His Maiestie Commanded Asaph chan to offer two of them to mee for mony, which he appoynted the *Cuttwall*, that is the Marshall, to doe. My enterpreter made answere (without my knowledg) that Christians kept no slaues; that those the king had giuen I had freed;[1] and that it was in vayne to propound it to mee. But after of him selfe hee did. I suspected it might be a tryall of mee whether I would giue a little mony to saue the liues of two Childeren, or els I supposed, if it were in earnest, it were noe great losse to doe a good deed; and, to trye the basenes or scope of this offer, I Commanded my enterpreter to returne to Asaph chan, to tell him hee had acquaynted mee with the motion and his answere; that I reprehended him for presuming in any Case to giue my resolution: that my owne reply was, if there were any mony to be Payd to saue the life of twoo Children to those whom they had robbd, or to redeeme them from the law, both for respect to the kinges Command and for Charetye, I was ready to giue it; but I would not buy them as slaues, only pay their ransome and free them: that if hee pleased to know the kings pleasure that I might giue them liberty without offence, I was very willing to doe it. Asaph chan replyed I might at myne owne will dispose them: that it was an extraordinarye goodnes; with many prayses accepted the mony, desiring mee [to] send it to the *Cuttwall* and to vse my discretion to the boyes: not once offering to enforme the king, which was one end of my liberallitye. I, that was loath to be cosened, and knew not whither this might bee

[1] Cp. pp. 150 and 174-6. On the practice of atoning for murder by payment of a sum of money, "in which case the murderer becomes the slave of the man who releases him," see Blochmann's *Aín-i-Akbari*, vol. i, p. 254.

the Profitt of officers or no, resolued to pay the mony, but so as the king should not be ignorant I had more mercy then he, and that a Christian esteemed the life of a Moore aboue mony. So I sent a factor and my enterpreter to the *Cuttwall* to acquaynt him with the Communications with Asaph chan and to lett him know, if at night hee would enforme the king that I had offered to redeeme the Prisoners for Charetyes sake, if after his Maiestie would consent to their liberty, I was ready to send him mony: But to buy them as slaues, though but for an hower, I would not: they should neuer come nor bee Manumissed by mee, but that I desiered his Maiestie to pardon them vpon my redemption. So I putt them to the test of their base offer. This mony execeded not ten Pound, a poore summe to impose on a stranger, or to be gayned by any king. The *Cuttwall* returned answere that hee would know the kinges Pleasure and accordingly aduise mee. Some would perswade mee this is one of the Mogols signal fauours: to Choose out such great men as hee will giue occasion to doe good and honorable woorkes, to redeeme Prisoners: and that the mony giues satisfaction to the Playntiffe robbd, and that those so appoynted by the king to ransome others make *Sizeda* as for some benefitt receiued; yet I fynd not any honor in a Prince to impose it on a stranger to whom he giues neyther mayntenance nor liberalitye. I went to the *Durbar* to see if his Maiestie would of himselfe speake to mee, that I might deliuer myne owne offer. The *Cuttwall* made many motions, brought in the executioner, who receiued some Command; but I understood it not, but expect my answere.

This day I sent my Secretary to visitt the Persian Embassador and to giue him welcome to this Court: That seeing ther had passed many effectes of loue and Amitye betweene our royall Masters the King of Great Brittaine

and Persia, I had receiued command to giue all respect and due Complements to any of his ministers whersoeuer I mett them, and that it beeing the Custome of Europe that the last come to any Place in Curtesy is visited of him that hath longer beene resident, beeing both Embassadors of one qualetye, I was resolued to Come my selfe to see him, whensoeuer I receiued notice of his Comoditye: when I would also open some busines to him both for the Honor and seruice of his Master: But, because I knew not the Customes of these Parts, I had first sent to aduice him that I expected the same good respect from him toward my soueraigne, and that hee would in like manner after visitt mee, to whom hee should bee most welcome: and without that assurance on his woord, I durst not Come at all to him. Hee receiued my message very courteously, replying hee tooke it for a great honor: that the Custome of this kingdome was that no ambassador did meete or make acquayntance without the knowledge of the king and leaue obteyned : that hee would moue his Maiestie on our behalfes and after both receiue mee with all frendship and repay my Curtesy toward him with all good correspondence: that hee knew Sir Robert Sheirly, and should bee very gladd, if I had any busines with his Master, to convey my lettres or enter into any other Communication or aduise therein according to my directions.

October 29.—I receiued News of a great Plauge at Agra;[1] so that I Iudgd it dangerous to send vp the goodes

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[1] Further references to this epidemic occur under November 25th and December 15th, 1616, and January 14th, 1617. See also the account given (from Jahángír's *Memoirs*) in Elliot and Dowson's *History* (vol. vi, p. 346). In the I. O. Records (*O. C.* No. 568) is a letter from Salbank to the Company, in the course of which he gives an account of "a great danger I sustained in the Citie of Agra for your sakes . . . . even in the yeare 1616, for that very year it hapned that a wonderfull great plague raigning in the aforesaid Citie for the space of three moneths, in which there sometimes dyed no lesse then a thousand people a day. . . . . All the rest of our nation being gon . . . I for my part was content to indvre the extremest brunt of the

into an infeected Place from whence No Comodytye could bee suffered to Passe, and to engage the Companyes seruantes; whervpon I persuaded the factors to remooue the Cloth within the walls of the Towne, and that I would desire of the king some secure Place for their rest vntill his Maiestie were settled. This Course will save much mony and more trouble. The brokar offered vs a sufficient roome, without danger, The king leauing a good guard for defence of such as Could not remooue; soe I resolued vpon yt.

To the Lord Bishop of Canterbury.[1]

(*Addl. MS.* 6115, f. 130.)

Adsmere, October 30, 1616.

May it please your Grace,

The fraylty of Passadge betweene this Place and England, especially of my last lettre,[2] that wandered ouer land and rather went vpon discouery then busines, aduiseth mee to send your Grace transcripts of them. Not that ther is conteyned any matter woorthy your honors leysure, but seeing you Commanded me to write, the relation of one to another will somwhat cleare the whole discourse. For broken and vndependant Peices and fragments haue little light in them, lesse Pleasure, and no proffitt; So that hee that would doe any thing in this matter should write a historie, and take it somwhat high, to show the beginninges and groweth of this Empire; what fortunes and what impedimentes it hath overcame; what frendshipes it hath needed and affected; the ambitions and diuisions in the Present state, that like impostumes lye now hidd, but threaten to breake out into the

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sicknes by referring myselfe to the mercy and providence of god, even almost to the temtation of his divine maiestie, as my Lord Ambassador wrot aduiseing me to depart out of the towne with speed for the safetie of my life, when people dyed on each [side of] me in howses ioyning to ours, and when I dayly heard most hideous and morneful vociferations of men, women [and children] deploring their deceased frinds."

As Mr. A. Rogers has pointed out, in the *Indian Magazine*, this epidemic was similar in character to the one now (1898) desolating Bombay.

[1] Printed in *Purchas*, vol. i, p. 584, but with many inaccuracies, and without indication of the person to whom it was addressed.

[2] Written in February 1616, and sent home with the letters printed on pp. 128-134. Abbot refers to it in his reply (*Dom. S. P., Jac. I*, vol. 90, no. 34), but no copy of it has been found.

rending and ruine of the whole by bloody war; the Practises, subtiltyes, and carriages of factions and Court-secretts, falsly called wisdome, wherein I assure your Grace they are pregnant, and excell in all that art which the Diuell can teach them, and are behynd none in wicked craft, some Passadges wherof were not vnwoorthy nor vnpleasant to relate; their religions suffered by the King, and Practised without envy or Contention on any part; how the Portugalls haue Crept into this Kingdome, and by what Corners they gott in; the enterance of the Jesuits, their entertaynment, Priuiledges, Practises, endes, and the growth of their Church, wherof they sing in Europe so loud Prayses and glorious successes; lastly, the arriuall of our Nation on this Coast, their fortunat or blessed victoryes ouer their enemyes, that not only sought to possesse these quarters by themselues, and to forbidd all others that which Nature had left free (as if God had Created the world for them only), but alsoe to abuse this People, as if they alone were the sonns of warr, they only trihumph, and that all other Europeans stroocke sayle to their fortune and valor; which now is brought so low in valew, that it is growne into a Prouerbe (*one Portugall to three Moores*, *one Englishman to three Portugalls*[1]), so that the best foundation of their greatnes is absolutly mined and blown vp. And our reception here stands on the same ground from which wee haue Cast them downe, which is Feare, an Honorable but vncertayne base of so great a Charge—for if either the Enemy once preuayle, or other misfortune happen to vs, our wellcome will turne round with yt; the Profitt and fittnes of this trade for England (while it may stand), not only respecting the Company now interessed, but the state, whither the Common-wealth in Generall loose or wynn. For often in trafiques Priuat men prosper by detriment of the Republique, as in all trades that mayntyne vanetye and sinne.[2]

This woorke and Method were woorthy some Paynes, and, as [it?] would require a good judgment and much tyme (both which are wanting to mee), so it would not be vnprofitable to reade, nor without some pleasure to view and meditate the diuers operations and woorkes of God, the variable Constitutions and dispositions of men and all things vnder their gouerment. But, seeing nature and Conueniency haue denyed mee abilitye and leysure to sett vpon soe great a labour, I haue Chosen one branch only to treat of to your Grace without other Meathode then by way of bare relation; which is, the estate of the Church heere, as well Christians, as of all other diffused sectes of Infidells.

But to Continew (as in a Parenthesis) the aduise I gaue your Honor in my last, of our Constitution here, and the Newes of

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[1] Terry (p. 163) quotes this as a saying of Jahángír.

[2] Cp. p. 167 *n.*

Persia. Breefly, I stand on very fickle termes, though in extraordinarie Grace with the King, who is gentle, soft, and good of disposition; yet on Poyntes and disputes with an insolent and Proud sonne of his, into whose handes he hath remitted all Power, which hee is neyther woorthy nor able to manage. Hee is Lord of our Port, and by his folly giues mee much trauell; so sordidly ambitious, that he would not haue mee acknowledge his father King, nor make any addresses, nor deliuer any Presentes nor Complementes of honor, but to himselfe; which I will neuer yeild too, and so I maynteyne my Creditt by Confidence on the Priuiledges of my qualetye and the Kinges goodnes. Yet an Ambassadour in this Court that knowes himselfe, and will not wrong his Master, shall oftner wynn enemyes then frendes. Their Pride endures no tearmes of equaletye, especially wher ther is no other honor nor title but what is measured by expence; so that to maynteyne one that shall in his Equipage and life hould proportion with his qualety, in this Court will cost much more then the Profitt of the trade can spare; and hee that liues vnder it, wronges his degree, and slides into Contempt. I doe my vttmost to hould vp with little Poore meanes; but my opinion is, a meaner instrument would better effect busines of trafique, that might Creepe, and sue, and suffer some affronts, which my ranck may not endure.[1] And I find the King of Spayne would neuer send any Ambassadour hither, out of greatnes, knoweing they are not receiued with proportionable honour; and with my small experience I could doe the Company better seruice by my returne, in aduise how to gouerne the whole.

Concerning Persia, the Turke hath only yet made a Brauado, and performed little; the Passages are stoppd, and the King, drawing his Armies into his borders to defende himselfe and finding no great woorke, tooke occasion to take in by force a reuolted Nation to the East of Babilon. The People are Called Coords;[2] how by the Ancientes, or the true Geographicall situation of their Cuntry, I am yet ignorant in. Sir Robert Shirly, by an ill Passadge to Goa, lost the oportunitye of the fleete for Lisbon, and is stayed there another yeare; so that negotiation will not so speedily be aduanced as I feared. Wee shall haue breath and tyme to woork vpon yt, according as it shalbe requisite in the judgment of your Honors in England, or at least of the Merchantes, whom it first regardeth.

Her is arriued a Persian Embassador; with little Newes, it beeing nine mounths since his departure from Spahan. He brought many rich Presentes, and did such obeysance, Prostrating himselfe and knocking the ground with his head, that I beleeue his Master will not approue it, except (as is supposed) hee be Commanded to vse all obsequiousnes and to flatter this monster of

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[1] Cp. p. 119.

[2] The Kurds of the present day.

greatnes; his arrand being to procure mony for ayd against the Turke, in which kind he findes often liberall supplyes and succors, which is not felt from this sea of treasure; although to mediate a Peace for the Kinges of Decan be the Pretence, whose protection the Persian takes to hart, jealouse of the encrease of this empire. Yet I doubt not hee wilbe satisfied with siluer, and suffer his Allyes to bee ouer runne. He is not allowed so good rancke nor Presence in Court as I, which I gott by dispute, and haue kept it by Contention, to the displeasure of some; neyther did the King doe soe much honour in reception of his Masters lettre, not vouchsafing once to giue any title of Maiestie to the Persian as of my Soueraygne Lords, which not a little Contented mee. Other aduantages he hath of language, neighborhood, and acquayntance, which are defectes, but no faultes, of mine. The King is now ready to March toward Decan; whose Armie is Commanded by his sonne. And wee with much toyle shall hang in the sckirts.

Our Fleet arriuing this yeare 1616, in the way mett the Admirall Carricke of Lisbon, bound for Goa, about Molalia, an Island in twelue degrees North latitude, and, haling her after the Curtesy of the sea, was requited with disgracfull language, and fiue great shott. Which occasion apprehended, shee was fought with three dayes; at last put ashore, and fired her selfe. Shee was of burthen fifteene hundred tuns, and by Pregnant Circumstances the expected Viceroy sent for Goa Perished in her; not one man was perceiued to bee saued of 600; which is one of the greatest disgraces and losses that euer happened to the Portugall in these Parts—the reward of their owne Insolency. In this fight the Cheefe Commander of the English was slayne, and the New-declared maymed; little other losse. Thus your Grace hath some touch of our affaires; and I will fall vpon my purpose of the Church, with your fauour and Patience.

Before the invndation of Temar the great, the ninth Ancestor of this King, these Cuntries were gouerned by diuers Petty Gentile[1] Princes, not knoweing any religion, but woorshipped after

[1] Hindú. Coryat (*Purchas*, vol. i, p. 600) relates a story of "a great Raja, a Gentile," and "a notorious Atheist," who died from a gangrene caused originally by one of his women plucking a hair from his breast, "whereupon he was inforced to confesse the power of that great God whom he had so long despised, that hee needs no other Lance then a little haire to kill so blasphemous a wretch." This tale was repeated to Sir Thomas Smythe by the Rev. Patrick Copland (*O. C.* No. 625), as having been related by Roe in one of his letters; and Roe himself narrated it (in a later letter) to the Archbishop, who was much edified by this "marvellous example of the power of God upon rebellious atheists" (*Dom. S.P.*, *Jac. I*, cv, 117). The story may also be found in Terry's narrative (p. 414), and in a scarce pamphlet now in the British Museum, entitled *A True Relation without all exception of*

their seuerall Idolatryes all sortes of Creaturs. The descendants of him brought in the knowledge of Mahomett, but imposed it vpon none by the law of Conquest, leauing consciences at liberty. So that these Naturalls, from the Circumcision (which came in with the Moores), called them Mogolls or cheefe of the Circumcised.[1] Among the Mogolls there are many strict Mahometans, many that follow Aly, his sonne-in-law, and other new risen Prophetts, which haue their *Xeriffs*,[2] *Mulas*[3] and Preistes, their Mosquies, religious votaries, washings, Prayings, and Ceremonyes infinite; and for Penetenciaryes, no herecye in the world can show so strange examples, nor bragg of such voluntarie Pouertyes, Punishmentes, sufferinges and Chastismentes as these; all which are esteemed holy men, but of a mingled religion, not vpright with their great Prophett. The Gentilles are of more sortes, some valiant, good souldiers, drinking wine, eating hogges-flesh, but woorshiping the figure of a beast; some that will not touch that flesh which is not holy by imputation; others that will not eate any thing wherin euer there was any blood, nor kill the vermin that assaulteth them, nor drincke in the Cup with those that doe; superstitious in washing, and most earnest in their profession; but all of them ascribe a kind of Diuinitie to the Riuer Ganges, at which at one season of the yeare 4 or 500,000 meete, and Cast in gould and siluer for oblation. In like manner to a Piggs head[4] in a Church near this Citty, and to all liuing Cowes, and to some other beastes and kindes. These haue their synogoages and holy Men, Prophetts, Witches, sooth-sayers, and all others the Diuelles impostures. The *Molaes* of Mahomett know somwhat in Philosophy and Mathematiques, are great Astrologers, and can talke of Areistotle, Euclyde, Auerroes[5] and other authors. The learned toong is Arab.

In this Confusion they Continued vntil the tyme of Ecbarsha, father of this king, without any Noice of Christian profession; who, beeing a Prince by Nature just and good, inquisitiue after

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strange and Admirable Accidents which lately happened in the Kingdome of the great Magor or Magull (London, 1622, 13 pp.). This was evidently written by some person who went out in Bonner's fleet of 1618, and subsequently proceeded to Japan. There are a few references to Roe and his embassy, but none of importance. The writer merely repeats the gossip of Surat about India and its inhabitants. He specially commiserates the latter for their uxoriousness: "What misery doe these Indians endure," is his sly comment, "to haue so many women about them, whenas there be many Englishmen are grieuously vexed to haue the company but of one; but perhaps the Indian women are of a farre milder temper then the English."

1 There is, of course, no truth in this fanciful piece of etymology.

2 See p. 20.

3 *Mullá*, a teacher, a doctor in the law.

4 An image of Hanuman, the monkey-god.

5 Averrhoës, the twelfth-century Cordovan scholar.

Noueltyes, Curious of New opinions, and that excelled in many virtues, especially in Pietye and reuerence toward his Parentes, called in three Iesuites from Goa, whose cheefe was Ieronimo Xauier a Nauarroies.[1] After their arriuall hee heard them reason and dispute with much Content on his and hope on their partes, and caused Xauier to write a booke in defence of his owne profession against both moores and Gentilles; which finished, hee read ouer Nightly, causing some part to be discussed, and finally granted them his lettre Pattentes to build, to preach, teach, conuert, and to vse all their rites and Ceremonyes, as freely and amply as in Roome, bestoweing on them meanes to erect their Churches and places of deuotion. So that in some fewe cittyes they haue gotten rather *Templum* then *Ecclesiam*. In this Grant he gaue grant to all sortes of men to become Christians that would, eauen to his Court or owne blood, professing it should bee noe cause of disfauaour from him. Here was a faire beginninge, a forward spring of a leane and barren haruest.[2]

Ecbar-shae himselfe continued a Mahometan, yet hee began to make a breach into the law; Considering that Mahomett was but a man, a King as he was, and therfore reuerenced, he thought hee might proue as good a Prophett himselfe. This defection of the King spread not farre; a Certayn outward reuerence deteyned him, and so hee dyed in the formall profession of his Sect.

Ghehangier-sha, his sonne, the present King, beeing the issue of this New fancy, and neuer circumcised,[3] bread vp without any

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[1] Jerome Xavier, grandson of a sister of St. Francis Xavier, went out to India in 1581, and at the end of 1594 was despatched from Goa to the Mogul Court. He was the founder of the Roman Catholic mission at Agra, and author of the *Mir'átu'l Kadas*, or "Holy Mirror," an account in Persian of the leading facts of Christian teaching. His influence with Jahángír, which was considerable, was of course exerted against the English; and Nicholas Withington, writing to Sir Thomas Smythe on November 9th, 1613, said bitterly that the Mogul would do nothing against the Portuguese "so long as that witch Savier liveth (for so the Moors themselves term him), which is an old Jesuit residing with the king, whom he much affects" (Brit. Mus., *Egerton MS.* 2086). At a later date he was named Archbishop of Angamale-Cranganore, but he died at Goa, January 17th, 1617, before being consecrated (Father Goldie's *First Christian Mission to the Great Mogul*, p. 117).

Roe's account of the early Catholic missions is a very confused one, and entirely ignores the work of Aquaviva and his immediate successors. A good summary of the facts will be found in Von Noer's *Kaiser Akbar*, and in the excellent work by Father Goldie already mentioned.

[2] Compare Terry's account (pp. 440 *et seq.*) of the religions of India, and of the Jesuits' progress in "that most acceptable, but hard, labour of washing Moors."

[3] Coryat, who makes the same statement, was probably Roe's authority for this. Salbank repeats it in a letter to the Company (*O. C.* No. 568), but he, no doubt had it from the same source.

religion at all, continewes so to this hower, and is an Athiest.[1] Sometyme he will make profession of a Moore: but alway obserue the hollidayes,[2] and doe all Ceremonyes with the Gentilles too. Hee is Content with all religions, only hee loues none that Changeth. But, falling vpon his father's conceipt, hath dared to enter farther in, and to professe himselfe for the Mayne of his religion to be a greater Prophett then Mahomett; and hath formed to himselfe a New law, mingled of all,[3] which many haue accepted with such superstition that they will not eate till they haue saluted him in the morning, for which Purpose hee Comes at the Sunnes rising to a wyndow open to a great Playne before his house, where Multitudes attend him; and when the Moores about him speak of Mahomett, hee will sooth them, but is glad when anyone will breake out against him. Of Christ he neuer vtters any woord vnreuerently, nor any of all these sectes, which is a woonderfull secrett woorking of Godes truth, and woorthy obseruation. Concerning the New Planted Christian Church he Confirmed and enlardged all their Priuiledges, euery night for one yeare spending two howers in hearing disputation, often Casting out doubtfull woordes of his conversion, but to wicked Purpose. And, the rather to giue some hope, he deliuered many Youthes into the hands of Francisco Corsy,[4] Now resident heere, to teach them to reade and write

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1 "Vnderstand it in generall sense, for one not setled in any Religion; of all, and therefore of none" (*Note by Purchas*).

2 Coryat notices the "memorable Pietie" of Jahángír, when "at Asmere hee went afoot to the Tombe of the Prophet Hod. Mundin there buried, and kindling a fire with his owne hands and his Normahal vnder that immense and Heidelbergian-œquipollent Brasse-pot, and made *Kitcherie* for fiue thousand poore, taking out the first Platter with his owne hands and seruing one; Normahal the second and so his Ladies all the rest" (*Purchas*, vol. i, p. 601). The reference is to the ceremony still observed during the *Urs Méla* festival, at the shrine of the celebrated prophet Mueiyyin-ud-dín Chisti, when, at the expense of some rich devotee, a gigantic mixture of rice, spices, etc., is cooked in a large chaldron, and distributed to the pilgrims (Rájputána Gazetteer, vol. ii, p. 61).

3 This is quite incorrect. It was Akbar who had founded the new "Divine Faith,"

Gathering here and there
From each fair plant the blossom choicest-grown
To wreathe a crown not only for the king
But in due time for every Mussulmán,
Brahmin, and Buddhist, Christian, and Parsee,
Thro' all the warring world of Hindustan.

Jahángír, though he continued his father's policy of toleration towards all creeds, appears to have done so more from indifference than from principle.

4 The "Jesuit" of several preceding entries. The Reverend Father Goldie, S.J., has most kindly procured for me an extract from the

Portuguse, and to instruct them in humane learning and in the law of Christ. And to that end he kept a Schoole some yeares, to which the King sent two Princes, his brothers sonnes; who, beeing brought vp in the knowledg of God and his sonne our Blessed Sauiour, were solemly Babtised in the Church of Agra with great Pomp, being Carried first vp and downe all the Citty on Eliphants in triumph; and this by the Kings expresse order, who often would examen them in their progression, and seemed much contented in them. This made many bend toward the same way, doubting his Maiesties entention; others, that knew him better, supposed he suffered this in pollicye,[1] to reduce these Children into hate among the Moores for their

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archives of the Society, in which it is stated that Corsi was a Florentine, born in 1575; that he entered the Order in the year 1593, and six years later was sent from Portugal to India, where he lived ordinarily in the household of the Great Mogul; that he bore a high character, and had a talent for mission work; and that he died at his post on August 1st, 1635. References to him occur also in Father Cordara's history of the Order (Pt. VI, tom. i, p. 59), and in the similar work by Father Jouvancy (Pt. V, tom. ii, lib. xviii, p. 468). His tomb is still to be seen in the chapel of the Roman Catholic cemetery at Agra.

The relations between Roe and Corsi were very amicable; and Terry's account of him, though tinged with professional jealousy, is favourable on the whole. It runs as follows (p. 444):—

"Francisco Corsi . . . . a Florentine by birth, aged about fifty years, who (if he were indeed what he seemed to be) was a man of a severe life, yet of a fair and an affable disposition; he lived at that Court as an Agent for the Portuguese, and had not only free access unto that King, but also encouragement and help, by gifts, which he sometimes bestowed on him."

"When this Jesuit came first to be acquainted with my Lord Ambassadour, he told him that they were both by profession Christians, though there was a vast difference betwixt them in their professing it: and as he should not go about to reconcile the Ambassadour to them, So he told him it would be labour in vain if he should attempt to reconcile him to us. Onely he desired that there might be a fair correspondency betwixt them, but no disputes. And further his desire was, that those wide differences 'twixt the church of Rome and us might not be made there to appear, that Christ might not seem by those differences to be divided amongst men professing Christianity, which might be a very main obstacle and hinderance unto his great design and endeavour, for which he was sent thither, to convert people to Christianity there: Telling my Lord Ambassadour further, that he should be ready to do him all good offices of love and service there; and so he was."

"After his first acquaintance, he visited us often, usually once a week. And as those of that society, in other parts of the world, are very great intelligencers, so was he there, knowing all news which was stirring, and might be had, which he communicated unto us."

[1] See p. 198.

Conversion, of whom Consisted the strength of his estate; but all men fayling of his Purpose, which was thus discouered. When these and some other Children were settled, as was thought, in Christian religion, and had learnd some Principles therof, as, to marry but one wife, not to be coupled with infidles, the King settes the boyes to demand some Portugalles wifes of the Jesuittes; who, thincking it only an idle motion of their owne braynes, Chyd them, and suspected no more. But that being the end of their Conuersion, to gett a woeman for the King, and no care taken, the two Princes came to the Jesuites, and surrendred vp their Crosses and all other rites, professing they would be noe longer Christians, because the King of Portugall sent them no Presentes nor wiues, according as they expected. The Padre, seeing this, began to doubt ther was more in that then the boyes reuealed, especially seeing their Confidence, that had cast off the awe of Pupilles; and, examining the matter, had it confessed the King commanded them. They refused to accept the Crosses, answering they had been giuen by his Maiesties order, and they would not take Notice from boyes of any such surrender; but bad them desier the King to send some of those who by a kynd of order are to deliuer all his Maiesties Commands, whose mouthes are by Priuiledges sufficient authoritye, and then they would accept them; hoping, and knoweing the King's Nature, that hee would not discouer himselfe to any of his officers in this poore Plott. The boyes returned with this Message, which enraged the King. But, being desierous to disolue the Schoole, and to withdrawe the youthes without Noyse, hee bad them call the Jesuittes to the woemens doore, wher by a lady he receiued the order; and without euer taking any notice since of any thing, his kinsmen recalld, who are now absolute Moores, without any tast of their first fayth; and so the fruict of all these hopes are vanished[1]. And I cannot fynd by good search that ther is one Christian really and orderly conuerted, Nor makes the profession, except some few that haue been Babtised for mony, and are mayntеyned by the Jesuittes; of which sort ther would bee more, but that they find the deceipt, and cannot endure the burthen. This is the truth of all their bragg and labor, and the full groweth of their Church here.

But, that your Grace may a little more vnderstand the fashion of this King and the Jesuites proceedinges, I will make you one or two merry and late relations; and either say hee is the most impossible man in the world to be conuerted, or the most easy; for he loues to heare, and hath so little religion yet, that he can well abyde to haue any decided. Not many

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[1] Cp. the accounts given by Terry (p. 447) and Hawkins (p. 438).

dayes since, the Jesuites house and Church beeing burned, the Crucifex remayned safe, which vnderhand was giuen out for a miracle, and much talked off. I, that could be content any vse might be made of an accident to enlardg the name of Christ, held my Peace. But the Jesuite, suspecting I would not agree to the Miracle, disavowed it to mee, and made it a matter of reason, why it was not burned; insinnuating that the Moores had Caught vp this opinion of Miracle without his Consent or suggestion, though he confessed hee was glad of the occasion. But the King, who neuer lett slip any oportunity of Newe talke or Nouelty, Calls the Jesuite, and questioneth him of it. He answers ambiguously; whervpon his Maiestie demanded if he did not desire to convert him, and, receiuing full answere, replyed: You speake of your great Miracles, and of many done by you in the Name of your Prophett; if you will cast the Crucifix and Picture of Christ into a fyre before mee, if it burne not, I wil become a Christian. The Jesuite refused the tryall as vniust, answering that God was not tyed to the Call of men: that it was a sinne to tempt him: that hee wrought Miracles according to his owne Councell; but offered to enter the fier himselfe for proofe of his faith, which the King refused. Heere arose a great dispute, begunne by the Prince, a most stiff Mahometan and hater of all Christians, that it was reasonable to try our religion by this offer, but withall, if the Crucifix did burne, then that the Jesuit should be obliged to render Moore.[1] Hee vrged examples of Miracles professed to bee done for lesse Purposes then the Conuersion of soe mightie a King, and, in case of refusall of that triall, spake scornefully of Christ Jesus. The King vndertooke the Argument, and defended our Sauiour to be a Prophett, by comparrison of his woorkes with those of their absurd Saintes, instancing the raysing of the dead, which neuer any of theirs did. The Prince replyed: to giue sight to one Naturally borne blind was as great a Miracle. This question beeing pressed hotly on both sides, a theird man, to end the Contrauersie, enterposed that both the father and the sonne had reason for their opinions; for that to rayse a dead body to life must needes bee confessd to be the greatest miracle euer done, but that to giue sight to an eye

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[1] Terry, in telling this story (p. 448), says that the crucifix was on a pole near the Jesuit's house; and that the Prince's proposal was that, if it did not resist combustion, the Jesuit should be burnt with it. He also says that he himself was at court when the incident happened—another proof that the reverend gentleman's memory is not to be trusted implicitly.

Corsi's offer to undergo the ordeal of fire recalls the challenge of Aquaviva to the Muhammadan doctors at the court of Akbar, and the somewhat similar story related of Father D'Acosta by Bernier and Catrou.

Naturally blynd was the same woorke; for that a blind eye was dead, sight beeing the life therof; therfore he that gaue sight to a blind eye did as it were rayse it vp from death. Thus this discourse ended, and soe in wisdome should I; but that I cannot leaue out an apish miracle which was acted before this King which the Jesuites will not acknowledg nor owne as their Practise; onely of the truth *de facto* ther is no doubt. A Juggler of Bengala (of which Craft there are many and rare) brought to the King a great Ape, that could, as hee professd, diuine and prophesy (and to this beast by some sectes is much diuinitie ascribed). The King tooke from his finger a ring, and caused it to bee hid vnder the Girdle of one among a dozen other boyes, and bad the Ape diuine; who went to the right Child, and tooke it out. But his Maiestie (somewhat more Curious) caused in twelue seueral papers in Persian lettres to bee written the Names of twelue Lawgiuers, as Moses, Christ, Mahomett, Aly, and others, and, shuffling them in a bagg, bad the beast diuine which was the true law; who, putting in his foote, tooke out that inscribed of Christ. This amazed the King, who, suspecting that the Apes master could reade Persian, and might assist him, wrote them anew in court Characters,[1] and presented them the second time. The Ape was Constant, found the right, and kissed it. Whereat a principal officer[2] grew angry, telling the King it was some imposture, desiering hee might haue leaue to make the lottes anew, and offered himselfe to Punnishment if the Ape could beguile him. Hee wrote the names, putting only aleuen into the bagg, and kept the other in his hand. The beast searchd, but refusd all. The King commanded to bring one; the beast tore them in fury, and made signes the true law-giuers name was not among them. The King demanded wher it was; and hee rann to the Noble-man and caught him by the hand in which was the Paper inscribed with the Name of Christ Jesus. The King was troubled, and keepes the Ape. Yet this was acted in Publique before thousandes; but wher the abuse was, or whether ther were any, I iudge not. Only one of the Jesuites scollers ran to him with open Mouth, professing the King had an ape a good Christian. Of this accident the Jesuittes make great account; to me they slight it, except the truth of the fact, which is not vnlike one of their owne games.[3]

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[1] *I.e.*, an official cypher. "Court characters are such as he only and his nearer Ministers vsed in Mysteries of State, vnknowne to all others" (*Note by Purchas*).

[2] Mahábat Khán, according to Terry; but it is scarcely likely that he was at court, or Roe would have mentioned him.

[3] Terry (p. 403) relates this incident at length, and says that although he was not present "it hath been often confirmed there in its report unto me by divers persons, who knew not one another, and

Your Grace will Pardon mee all this folly, to interrupt you with so much and soe vselesse tattle. I should be glad to remooue wher I might learne and Practise better matter. But I cannot repent my Journy. It hath made me know my God and my selfe better than euer I should haue learned eyther among the Pleasure of England. He hath woonderfully showed mee his mercy and taught mee his Judgmentes : his goodnes be glorifyed and magnified for euer.[1] I humbly desire your Grace to present my Name (I dare not say my seruice) before his Maiestie my lord and Master. It is enough for mee if I bee not forgotten. I shall neuer meritt nor aspire the employmentes of his fauour ; but I will pay my vowes, and pray for his Maiestie, that hee may liue a happy and glorious long life to the Comfort of his Church, and enioy the Crowne of Crownes, Prepared by the King of Kinges for those that loue him. Wherin I haue fayled toward your Honor, or by myne owne weakenes, your Grace will measure by this rule : *exigitt et postulat amicitia non quod cuique debetur, sed quod quisque efficere potest* ;[2] and you will pardon the assuming so high a woord as frendship, with this enterpretation : *Seruus est humilis amicus* ;[3] which, as I am bould to professe, I will be ready to demonstrate by Obedience to your Commandes.

THOMAS ROE.

November 1.—Sultan Coronne tooke his leaue and went to his tentes. The king at Noone sate out at the *Durbar*, where the Prince brought his Eliphantes, about 600 richly trapped and furnished, and his followers, by estimation

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were differing in Religion ; yet all agreed in the story, and in all the circumstances thereof." The author of *A True Relation* (see p. 311*n.*) also tells the tale, and says that it was averred to be true by Master Edward Terry, who heard it credibly reported, and *had often seen the ape.* This latter statement Terry takes occasion to correct (p. 405).

[1] The extent to which Roe's frequent illnesses had deepened his religious convictions is shown in the undated private letter (Brit. Mus. *Harl. MS.* 1576, f. 514), to which reference has already been made. "O my deare freind," he writes, "that god which some thinke is confind to Europe and onely in the Temples made with handes hath mett with mee in the wildernes. I haue tasted his displeasure . . . . Hee began with mee in England, but he knew it was not a place where I could bee cleansed. I must goe wash in Jordan."

[2] This quotation (from an unknown source) may be freely rendered: "Friendship demands not what is actually due, but what one is able to effect."

[3] "A slave is a humble friend." The sentiment is Seneca's: "Servi sunt humiles amici" (*Epist.* 47, s. 1).

10,000 horse, many in Cloth of Gould with hearne top feathers[1] in their Turbantes, all in Galanterie; Himselfe in a Coate of Cloth of siluer, embrodered with great Pearle and shining in Diamondes like a firmament. The king embraced him, kissd him, and showed much affection. At his departure hee gaue him a swoord, the scaberd all of gould sett with stones, valewed at 100,000 *rupees*, a dagger at 40,000, an Eliphant, and two horses, all the furniture of gould sett with stones, and for a Close one of the New Caroches made in Imitation of that sent by his Maiestie my Master,[2] and Commanded the English Coachman to driue him to his tentes; into which hee ascended, and sate in the middle, the sides open, his Cheefest Nobles afoote walking by him to his Tentes about 4 Mile. All the way hee threw quarters of *Rupias*, beeing followed with a Multitude of People. Hee reached his hand to the Coachman and Putt into his hatt about 100 *rupias*.

I could not get any despatch, neyther heard any Newes from Suratt; so that Zulphecarcon is departed in our debt for want of an account, which I had often written for. I doubted our *Patamars* miscarriage, for it is now 36 dayes since I heard a woord.

November 2.—The king remooued to his tents with his weomen and all the Court about 3 mile. I went to attend him. Comming to the Pallace, I found him at the *Jarruco* wyndow[3] and went vp on the scaffold vnder him, which Place, not hauing seene before, I was glad of the occasion. On two tresselles stood two Eunuches with long Poles headed with feathers fanning him. He gaue many fauours and receiued many Presentes. What hee bestowed hee

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[1] Aigrettes.

[2] In Jahángír's *Memoirs* he mentions his gift to the Prince of "a carriage of the Feringí English fashion that he might sit and ride in it" (Elliot and Dowson's *History*, vol. vi, p. 347).

[3] See p. 106.

lett downe by a silke stringe rouled on a turning instrument; what was giuen him, a venerable fatt deformed ould Matron, wrinckled and hung with gimbelles[1] like an Image, Pulld vp at a hole with such a Nother Clue. At one syde in a wyndow were his two Principall wifes, whose Curiositye made them breake litle holes in a grate of reede that hung before yt to gaze on mee. I saw first their fingers, and after laying their faces close nowe one eye, Now another; sometyme I could discerne the full proportion. They were indifferently white, black hayre smoothed vp; but if I had had no other light, ther diamondes and Pearles had sufficed to show them. When I lookd vp they retyred, and were so merry that I supposed they laughd at mee. Suddenly the king rose, and wee retyred to the *Durbar* and satt on the Carpettes attending his Comming out. Not long after hee Came and sate about halfe an hower, vntill his ladyes at their doore were ascended their elephantes, which were about 50, all most richly furnished, Principally 3 with Turretts[2] of gould, grates of gould wire euery way to looke out, and Canopyes ouer of Cloth of siluer. Then the king descended the stayres with such an acclamation of health to the king[3] as [w]ould haue out-cryed Cannons. At the stayres foote, wher I mett him, and shuffled to be Next, one brought a mighty carp; another a dish of white stuff like starch, into which hee putt his finger, and touched the fish and so rubd it on his forhead, a Ceremony vsed presaging good fortune. Then another came and buckled on his swoord and buckler sett all ouer with great Diamondes and rubyes, the belts of gould suteable. Another hung on his quiuer with 30 arrowes and his bow in a Case, the same

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[1] Gimbals, or gimmals, were rings intertwined or linked together. Cp. Holinshed in *Description of Ireland*, vi, c. 2: "truly this argument hangeth togither by verie strange *gimbols*."

[2] Howdahs.

[3] *Padsháh salámat.*

that was presented by the Persian Ambassador. On his head he wore a rich Turbant with a Plume of herne tops, not many but long; on one syde hung a ruby vnsett, as bigg as a Walnutt; on the other syde a diamond as great; in the middle an emralld like a hart, much bigger. His shash[1] was wreathed about with a Chayne of great Pearle, rubyes, and diamondes drild. About his Neck hee carried a Chaine of most excellent Pearle, three double; so great I neuer saw; at his Elbowes, Armletts sett with diamondes; and on his wristes three rowes of seuerall sorts. His handes bare, but almost on euery finger a ring; his gloues, which were english, stuck vnder his Girdle; his Coate of Cloth of gould without sleeues vpon a fine *Semian*[2] as thin as Lawne; on his feete a payre of embrodered buskinges with Pearle, the toes sharp and turning vp. Thus armd and accomodated, hee went to the Coach, which attended him with his New English seruant, who was Clothd as rich as any Player and more gaudy, and had trayned four horses, which were trapped and harnassed in gould veluetts. This was the first hee euer sate in, and was made by that sent from England,[3] so like that

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[1] See p. 257.

[2] There appears to be some mistake here, as "semians" (see pp. 143, 265) were coarse calicoes, used chiefly for awnings (hence, probably, the name, from Pers. *shamyána*, a canopy). Perhaps Roe meant the stuff called *sinabaff*, "a fine slight stuff or cloth wherof the Moors make their *Cabayes*, or clothing" (*Letters Received*, vol. i, p. 29).

[3] "On the 21st Abán I mounted the Frank carriage, which had four horses attached to it, and left the city of Ajmír" (*Túzak*, Mr. Rogers' translation).

Of the coach presented by Roe, see p. 118. Terry (p. 385) gives the following particulars of its transformation: "Amongst many other things, when my Lord Ambassadour first went thither, the Company sent the Mogol an English Coach, and Harnesse for four Horses, and an able Coachman to sute and mannage some of his excellent Horses, that they might be made fit for that service. The Coach they sent was lined within with Crimson China velvet; which when the Mogol took notice of, he told the Ambassadour that he wondred that the King of England would trouble himself so much, as to send unto China for Velvet to Line a Coach for him, in regard that he had been informed that the English King had much

THE EMPEROR'S STANDARD.
(*from Terry's "Voyage"*).

deepe, a border about sett with rubyes a
A footman carried a foote stoole of g
stones. The other two were couered and l
Cloth of gould. Next followed the I
newly couered and trimed rich, which hee
queene Normahall, who rode in yt. After
of this Cuntry fashion, which me thougl
Countenance; in that sate his younger
followed about 20 Eliphantes royall spare
ascending, so rich that in stones and furn
braued the sunne. Euery Eliphant had d
Cloth of siluer, guilt satten, and taffata.
hee suffered to walke a foote, which I did to
left him. His wiues on their Eliphantes we
Parrakitoes halfe a Mile behynd him. Whe
fore the doore wher [h]is eldest sonne[1] is pris
the Coach and called for him. He car
reuerence, with a swoord and buckler in
beard grown to his middle, a signe of disfau
Commanded him to ascend one of the sp
and so rode next to him, to the extream ap
of all men, who now are filld with new hop
gaue him a thousand *rupias* to Cast to the
Iaylor, Asaph Chan, and all the Monsters
tooke horse to avoyd Presse and other inco
crossed out of the *leskar*[2] before him, and
hee came near his Tentes. Hee passed all the
a guard of Eliphantes, hauing euery one
back; on the fower corners fower banners of
right before, a sling mounted that carried a
as a great Tennis ball; the gunner behind
about 300. Other Eliphantes of honor tl
and after, about 600; all which were couere

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[1] Khúsrú.

[2] Camp (Per:

I knew it not but by the Couer, which was a gould Persian veluett. Hee gott into the end; on each side went two Eunuches that carried small maces of gould sett all ouer with rubies, with a long bunch of white horse tayle to driue away flyes; before him went drumes, ill trumpettes and loud musique, and many Canopyes, quittasolls[1] and other strange ensignes of Maiestie of Cloth of gould sett in many Places with great rubyes, Nine spare horses, the furniture some garnished with rubyes, some with Pearle and emraldes, some only with studdes enameld. The Persian Ambassador presented him a horse. Next behynd came three *Palenkees*; the Carriages and feete of on Plated with gould sett at the endes with stones and Couered with Crimson veluett embrodered with Pearle, and a frengg of great Pearle hanging in ropes a foote

better Velvet near home, for such or any other uses. And immediately after the Mogol caused that Coach to be taken all to pieces, and to have another made by it, for. . . . they are a people that will make any new thing by a pattern; and when his new coach was made according to the pattern, his workmen first putting the English Coach together, did so with that they had new made; then pulling out all the China Velvet which was in the English Coach, there was in the room thereof put a very rich Stuffe, the ground silver, wrought all over in spaces with variety of flowers of silk, excellently well suited for their colours, and cut short like a Plush; and instead of the brasse Nails that were first in it, there were Nails of silver put in their places. And the Coach which his own workmen made was lined and seated likewise with a richer stuff than the former, the ground of it Gold, mingled like the other with silk flowers, and the Nails silver and double guilt; and after having Horses and Harnesse fitted for both his Coaches, He rode sometimes in them, and contracted with the English Coachman to serve him, whom he made very fine, by rich vests he gave him, allowing him a very great Pension; besides, he never carried him in any of those Coaches, but he gave him the reward of ten pounds at the least, which had raised the Coachman unto a very great Estate, had not death prevented it, and that immediately after he was setled in that great service."

From a letter of Kerridge's, in the British Museum, it appears that the cost of the coach in England was 151*l.* 11*s.* The coachman's name was William Hemsell, and he had been previously in the service of "Dr. Farran and my Lord Bishopp of Couentrye and Lychfeild" (*Court Minutes*, January 3rd, 1615). The "very great pension" allowed by the Mogul was a rupee and a half per diem (I. O. Records: *O. C.*, No. 423)!

[1] Umbrellas or sunshades (Port. *quita-sol*).

deepe, a border about sett with rubyes and emeralldes. A footman carried a foote stoole of gould sett with stones. The other two were couered and lyned only with Cloth of gould. Next followed the English Coach newly couered and trimed rich, which hee had giuen the queene Normahall, who rode in yt. After them a third of this Cuntry fashion, which me thought was out of Countenance; in that sate his younger sonns. After followed about 20 Eliphantes royall spare for his owne ascending, so rich that in stones and furniture that they braued the sunne. Euery Eliphant had diuers flages of Cloth of siluer, guilt satten, and taffata. His Noblemen hee suffered to walke a foote, which I did to the gate and left him. His wiues on their Eliphantes were carried like Parrakitoes halfe a Mile behynd him. When hee came before the doore wher [h]is eldest sonne[1] is prisoner, he stayed the Coach and called for him. He came and made reuerence, with a swoord and buckler in his hand; his beard grown to his middle, a signe of disfauour. The king Commanded him to ascend one of the spare Eliphantes and so rode next to him, to the extream applause and ioy of all men, who now are filld with new hopes. The king gaue him a thousand *rupias* to Cast to the People. His Iaylor, Asaph Chan, and all the Monsters yet a foote. I tooke horse to avoyd Presse and other inconuenience, and crossed out of the *leskar*[2] before him, and attended vntill hee came near his Tentes. Hee passed all the way betweene a guard of Eliphantes, hauing euery one a turred on his back; on the fower corners fower banners of yellow taffety; right before, a sling mounted that carried a bullett as bigg as a great Tennis ball; the gunner behind yt; in Number about 300. Other Eliphantes of honor that went before and after, about 600; all which were couered with veluett

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[1] Khúsrú.

[2] Camp (Pers. *lashkar*).

or cloth of gould, and had 2 or 3 guilded banners carried. In the way rann diuers footemen with sckinnes of water that made a continuall shower before him; no horse nor man suffered to approach the Coach by two furlonges, except those that walked a foote by; soe that I hasted to his tentes to attend his alighting. They were walled in about halfe an english mile in Compasse, in forme of a fort with diuers Coynes and bulwarckes, with high *Cannattes* of a Course stuff made like arras, red on the outsyde, within which figures in Panes, with a handsome gate house; euery Post that beare vp these was hedded with a topp of brasse.[1] The throng was great. I desired to goe in, but no man was suffered; the greatest in the land satt at the doore; but I made an offer, and they admitted mee, but refused the Persian Embassador and all the Noblemen. Here first the Persian Embassador saluted me, with a silent Complement only. In the middst of this Court was a throwne of mother of Pearle borne on two pilla[r]s raysd

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[1] "The tents pitch'd in that *Leskar*, or Camp Royal, are for the most part white, like the cloathing of those which own them. But the Mogols Tents are red, reared up upon Poles, higher by much than the other. They are placed in the middest of the camp, where they take up a very large compasse of ground, and may be seen every way; and they must needs be very great, to afford room in them for himself, his wives, children, women, Eunuchs, &c.

"In the forefront, or outward part, or Court within his Tent, there is a very large room for access to him, 'twixt seven and nine of the clock at night, which. . . . is called his *Goozulcan*.

"His tents are encompassed round with *Canats*, which are like our Screenes, to fold up together; those *Canats* are about ten feet high, made of narrow strong Callico, and lined with the same, stiffened at every breadth with a Cane; but they are strongest lined on their outside by a very great company of arm'd Souldiers, that keep close about them night and day. The Tents of his great men are likewise large, placed round about his. All of them, throughout the whole *Leskar*, reared up in such a due and constant order, that when we remove from place to place, we can go as directly to those moveable dwellings, as if we continued still in fixed and standing habitations; taking our direction from several streets and *Bazars*, or market-places, every one pitched upon every remove alike, upon such or such a side of the Kings Tents, as if they had not been at all removed."—Terry, p. 421.

on earth, couered ouer with an high tent, the Pole headed with a knob of gould, vnder it Canopyes of Cloth of gould, vnder foote Carpettes. When the king came neare the doore, some Noble men came in and the Persian Ambassador. Wee stood one of the one syde, the other of the other, making a little lane. The king entering cast his eye on mee, and I made a reuerence; hee layd his hand on his brest and bowed, and turning to the other syde nodded to the Persian. I followed at his heeles till hee ascended, and euery man cryed "Good Ioy and fortune," and so tooke our Places. Hee called for water, washed his handes and departed. His weomen entered some other Port to their quarter, and his sonne I saw not. Within this whole rayle was about 30 diuisions with tents. All the Noble men retired to theirs, which were in excellent formes, some all white, some greene, some mingled; all encompassd as orderly as any house; one of the greatest raretyes and magnificencyes I euer saw. The vale showed like a bewtifull Citty, for that the ragges nor baggage were not mingled.[1] I was vnfitted with Carriadge, and ashamed of my Prouision; but fiue years allowance would not haue furnished mee with one indifferent sute sortable to others. And, which addes to the greatnes, euery man hath a double, for that one goes before to the next remooue and is sett a day before the king riseth from these.[2] So I returned to my Poore house.

I demanded of Asaph Chan what remedy I should fynd against Zulphecarcon and showed his bill, desiering him to send to him or make Complaynt to the king. He putt mee off to mooue the Prince: that the king would not meddle with his seruantes. I yet, to my extreme trouble and woonder, heard noe Newes from Suratt nor Agra;

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[1] Cp. Bernier's description of the camp of Aurangzíb (Constable's edn., p. 360).

[2] See p. 275.

resolued to follow the Prince on the morrow, and to Complayne of our debtes.

November 4.—I sent Master Bidolph and Iaddow to the Princes Camp to prooue whither by fayre meanes Zulphecarcon would pay the debt; for I knew how distastefull a complaynt against him would bee, and what I had suffered for this Contention. They first went to Afzuld chan,[1] the secretary, and acquaynted him with my resolution to deliuer his bill to the Prince. He answered hee doubted not but hee would giue satisfaction without that course, and wishd them to goe speake with him, which they did, and hee resolutly answered he would pay no more. When they urged his bill hee slighted it, and bad demand it of the Prince, for whatsoeuer hee tooke from vs was for him; and that hee should pay it if he would, for that himselfe would not. Now the Prince was loose from the king, you may Iudge that which I foresaw, that the delayes and pretences for want of Certificatt from Suratt, which I had sent for 6 monthes, serued only a turne to gett at liberty and to cosen vs. I resolued in my tyme for no respect of danger or displeasure to leaue such an example, but to hazard all to recouer so little mony. If it had been myne owne I would haue giuen it rather then vndergone a New Conflict; but I purposed a fayre way without Iust exception, and that if I so suffered it was a kind of Martirdome: first to show his hand and seale to the Prince, and if I found no Iustice to deliuer it to the king, with the full Passage of all proceeding in yt.

November 5.—I rode to the Princes tents, about 5 mile, when he sate out. I usd some prefaces of respect, and desiered to take my leaue of his Highnes, to whom I wished a prosperous Iourny, victorye ouer his enemyes, a glorious Tryumph woorthy his greatnes, and a safe returne. I

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[1] See p. 160 *n*.

entreated him to beleeue I was his humble seruant in all respectes, reseruing my duty to my souerayne; and that hee would bee pleased to retayne our Nation in his fauour and protection. Then I presented to him Zulpheckcarcons billes for 17,000 *mamoodies*, of which hee had payd 9,000 and the remayner hee refused after many delayes: that I had had long Pacience for respect of his highnes, but now the Necessitye of his departure and my attendance on the king enforced mee to appeale to his Iustice, wherin I doubted not to fynd releefe. Hee read it ouer, and seemed to beleeue it had beene Payd, demanding if Afsul chan knew the account. I answered: yes: that he was an instrument of the Conclusion, and it was witnessed by Mochrebchan, Hoja Nassan, and diuers, that knew wee lost for this end aboue 2,000 *mamoodies*, and that his owne hand and seale and his *scrivanoes* bills would testefye against him. Hee desiered me stay till the secretary came and I should receiue order. He rose before Afzul chan appeared and retyred, but sent Biram chan, the Commander of all his horse, to stay me a little. Within halfe an hower came answere that I should returne to my house, and two dayes after repayre to him: hee would examine the busines and Pay mee himselfe: that then I should take my leaue of him. He sate in the same Magnificence, order, and greatnes that I mentioned of the king;[1] His Throwne beeing Plated ouer with siluer, inlayd with flowers of gould, and the Canopy ouer it square, borne on fower Pillars couered with siluer; his Armes, swoord, buckler, bowes, arrowes, and lance, on a table before him. The watch was sett, for it was euening. When hee came abroade, I obserued him now hee was absolute, and Curiously his fashion and actions. Hee receiued two

[1] Amongst other distinctions given to Khurram at this time was the title of Sháh, which no prince since Timúr had borne in the lifetime of his father.

lettres, read them standing, before hee ascended his Throne. I neuer saw so settled a Countenance, nor any man keepe so Constant a grauety, neuer smiling, nor in face showeing any respect or difference of men; but mingled with extreame Pride and Contempt of all. Yet I found some inward trouble now and then assayle him, and a kinde of brokennes and distraction in his thoughtes, vnprouidedly and amasedly answering sutors, or not hearing. If I can Iudg any thing, hee hath left his hart among his fathers women, with whom hee hath liberty of conuersation. Normahall in the English Coach the day before visited him and tooke leaue. She gaue him a Cloake all embrodered with Pearle, diamondes and rubyes; and carried away, if I err not, his attention to all other busines.[1]

November 6.—I receiued lettres from Master Browne at Amadavaz, aduising mee of hauing gotten the Gouernor of Cambayas bill for the restitution of 1,100 *Mamoodies* extorted last yeare,[2] by virtue of a *firmaen* by me procured. So that I haue recouered all bribes and extortions taken before my tyme with little losse. I suppose it wilbe a good example. He certefyed mee of a fray begun by the Portugalles, 5 of them setting on an English boy in Cambaya and disarming him, vpon rumour wherof Iohn Browne and James Bickford[3] went to his rescue and were assayled by seauen of them. One shooting a Pistoll hurt John Browne in the hand, but his hart lay not thear. They defended themselues honestly, brauely, like Englishmen, kylld one, hurt some others, and Chased them vp and downe the Towne like beastes, to the great shame of such villaynes and reputation of our Nation. To reuenge this, the Portugalls beeing arriued in their frigotts, diuers Came

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[1] There seems to have been no ground for the suspicion hinted here.

[2] See p. 116.

[3] Elected a factor in November, 1614. He was employed principally at Surat and Ahmadábád until his return to England in 1623.

ashore; no more english in Towne but the 3 Mentioned. The Gouernor vnderstood the occasion, and sent the *Cuttwall* with a guard to our house and shutt the water Ports, expelling the Portugall and Commanding, vpon payne of Chasticement, not to meddle with the English; and so deliuered them safe out of towne, who are returned to Amadavaz. By these I receiued newes from Suratt of a resolution to send to Jasques[1] without my knowledge,

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[1] This decision was taken at a consultation held on board the *Charles* on October 2nd, 1616, the proceedings at which are fully recorded in *O. C.* No. 402 (I. O. Records). Pepwell, who was himself unfavourable to the project, produced a letter from Roe (see *Addl. MS.* 6115, f. 118), declaring that it would be useless to send to Persia until the issue of Sherley's mission to Spain were known; and that the *farmán* obtained by Steel and Crowder (see p. 128) was of little value, as it contained no undertaking on the part of the Sháh to send down silk to Jáshak, and no merchandise was obtainable at that port in the ordinary way. Against this Kerridge urged that the present opportunity was a good one, seeing that Sherley (who would be either a troublesome enemy or an expensive friend) was out of the way: that the Company had approved their previous measures and had encouraged them to persevere: that, the war with the Turks having blocked commercial intercourse with Europe, there must be in Persia at once a dearth of cloth and a plethora of silk: that it was absolutely necessary to find some vent for the large stock of English goods in their warehouse for which no immediate sale could be hoped in India: and that one of the ships might just as well be employed in an experimental voyage as lie at anchor at Swally till the others were ready. Roe's opinion was set aside with the remark that "in regard his lordship in other particulars of his said letter is farr transported in errour of opynyon Concerning merchandizeing and merchantes affaires in these partes makes vs assured that hee is noe lesse transported from and Concerning this persian Imployment;" and the expedition was decided upon. Edward Connock, the cape merchant of Pepwell's fleet, was chosen chief factor; Thomas Barker (then second at Surat) was made his principal assistant; and George Pley, Edward Pettus, William Tracy and Robert Gipps completed the party. The *James*, under the charge of Alexander Child, was told off to convey them to Jáshak, and she accordingly sailed on November 5th. The port was reached in safety a month later, the factors were landed with their goods, and the ship anchored again at Swally early in February, 1617 (Child's journal in *Purchas*, vol. i., p. 606; see also an account [by Pley] in *Egerton MS.* 2121). A Portuguese squadron had been despatched to intercept her, but had failed to do so (Bocarro's *Decada XIII*, c. 165).

How much Roe was angered at finding his opinion thus overruled may be gathered from his diary and letters; but neither he nor Pepwell could do anything in the matter. Keeling was still, by virtue of his commission, the chief director of the Company's affairs in the

here beeing an Ambassador of the Shaw-bas that offered me all curtesy and whose aduise would haue giuen vs great light to the busines ; but in 6 weekes I neuer heard woord from them, neyther doe they thinck any body woorth the Consulting but them selues. I sent downe the kinges *firmaen* procured by Crowther ;[1] but my aduise that it was not woorth entertayning on so feeble Conditions, with many reasons reserued to my selfe, not presupposing any man would haue presumed a conclusion without mee ; for that when I motioned[2] to send Shalbanke for 100 *rupias* ouer-land to discouer both Syndu and Jasques, to bee an eye wittnesse of the fittnes of the Port and possibilitye of trade, and to haue returned before the arriuall of our fleete with full intelligence, they reiected it, and braggd they had crossd all my aduices ; and now haue resolued to doe yt by a ship, at extreame perill and Chardge, and without any ground, yea, against all reason ; without vouchsafing to acquaynt mee, but that I receiued the Newes by Collaterall enformation. Iudge what respect your factors giue mee : what the fruictes of diuision are, and seperating them from any relation to mee, though your last lettre signifyd you required them to Consult with mee before resolution of any Matter of such importance. I must Confesse it greatly discourageth mee, and my sincere Payne, care, and toyle was not to serue to amend their follyes only at Court, but hoped to haue beene respected in my aduice only for your profitt. For your Cheefe factor[3] hath too much suddeyne

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East, and in consequence the usual authority in matters relating to merchandise had been withheld from the general of the 1616 fleet. Pepwell, therefore, could not reverse the decision arrived at by the assembled factors, nor could he refuse to assist in carrying it out. Roe was equally powerless, and had to content himself with watching, in a decidedly critical mood, the outcome of the measures taken, while he awaited the result of his letters home of the previous year, complaining of his own want of authority.

[1] See p. 246.

[2] In a letter of April 26th, 1616, quoted (in part) on p. 164.

[3] Kerridge.

fire and to great an opinion of his abilityes to giue a temperate aduise, as I can show abondantly and wee haue had full experience, not once asking any mans aduise from hence, but Peremptorily commanding and ordering monyes to no purpose, too late and to extreame Losse. Notwithstanding, this day I dispeeded a lettre from the Princes secretary written in his owne Name to Abram chan, Salath beage, and Isack beage,[1] to ouersee the Customer that hee wronged not the English nor suffered any other: that the busines might bee so ordered as should preuent all future Complayntes: that the presentes should be dispatchd to Court without Custome: that what soeuer was bought should not be taken by force, but the owner payd ready mony to Content. The Copy is registred.[2]

This day I wrote to the Gouernor of Cambaya to acknowledge his fauour and my thanckfullnes: that I would acquaynt the king with his honorable respect of our Protection.

November 9.—The Prince, beeing to remooue, sent one of his Guard in hast for mee. I was vnfitted to goe but hee Prest mee so farr that his Master did stay out to speake with mee: that hee had Commanded him not to returne without mee: that all the Court did talk of the Princes fauour to mee: that it was reported hee had desired the king to lett mee accompany him into the warrs, and that hee had promised to vse mee so well as I should confesse his fauour to our Nation. This Newes made me take horse after dinner; but I found him Newly risen and Marching. I mett the Dutchman his Ieweller. Hee welcommed mee with good Newes of some extraordinary fauour from his master, who had sate almost an hower longer then his Pur-

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[1] Ibrâhim Khân, as already mentioned, was governor of Surat. The other two had been "customer" and *shâhbandar* respectively, and are often mentioned in the letters of the English factors.

[2] This does not appear to be extant.

pose to stay my Comming, and such great promises that made mee beleeue none. Hee also confirmed the souldiers report of my attending the Prince. When I came vp to the trayne I sent woord I was arriued, and had answer that I should passe before to the tentes, and sitt vntill the Prince came and that hee would speake with mee. It was night before his approach. He made only a Countenance to mee, sate a little and went in among his woemen. As hee Passd, hee turned about and sent a seruant to desire mee to stay a while: that hee would com into the *Guzelchan* and take his leaue of mee. Within halfe an hower he sate out, but I could not gett any man to putt him in mynd of mee, and hee was fallen to Play, and eyther forgott it or put a tricke of state vpon mee, that I stayed an hower. Beeing extreamely troubled, I went to the doore and tould the wayters the Prince had sent for mee: I came only to receiue his Commandes: that I had attended long and must returne to my house, it beeing late: and if his highnes had any busines I desiered him to send it after mee, for I scorned such vsage; and so departed to horse. Before I was vp, ther came running messingers calling for mee, and I was sent for. I first complayned of my stay: that I was come only to receiue his command: that I had neyther bedd nor tent and 6 *Course* home: that I could not procure entrance. I found him earnest at Cardes,[1] but hee excused himselfe of forgettfullnes, and blamed the officers formally; but in show vsd mee with more Curtesy then ordinary, calling mee to see his Cardes and asking many questions. I expected hee would speake of my goeing with him, but, fynding noe such discourse, I tould him I was Come only to obey him, and to take my leaue:

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[1] A favourite pastime at the Mogul court. Akbar himself did not disdain to spend time in making fresh designs for them. There was at all events plenty of scope for variety, for the pack contained twelve suits of twelve cards each (Blochmann's *Aín-i-Akbari*, vol. i, p. 306).

that I desired his Pardon that I hasted away, for that I was to returne to Adsmere, beeing vnprouided to stay all night. Hee answered hee sent for me to see me before his goeing: that I should presently bee dispatched. Then hee sent in an Eunuch and diuers of his Captaynes came smiling: the Prince would giue me a great Present, and if I feared to ryde late, I should haue ten horse to guard mee, and made such a busines as if I should haue receiued his best Chayne of Pearle. By and by came out a Cloth of gould Cloake of his owne, once or twice worne, which hee Caused to bee putt on my back, and I made reuerence, very vnwillingly. When his Ancester Tamerlane was represented at the Theatre the Garment would well haue become the Actor;[1] but it is here reputed the highest of fauour to giue a garment warne by the Prince, or, beeing New, once layd on his shoulder. Then hee bowed him selfe and I had my dischardg; but I desiered to speake somewhat more. Vsing a preface of Complementes, I acquaynted him with the letters I newly receiued from Suratt, wherin our factors acknowledge their good vsadge and the receipt of the mony according to order: that as I had Complaynd against the bad, I could not but acknowledge the Iustice and goodnes of Abram Chan, who in all Poynts studyed to honour his Master with Noble actions and to protect vs from Iniury. He replyed it was his Command so to doe, and that hee was very glad that his seruants and my Countrimen agreed so well and were frendes, which hee would continew by his expresse order: that in what I found my selfe agreeued hee would bee my Iudge him selfe and right mee. I desiered him to beginn his fauour by Commanding Zulphercarcon to pay the

[1] Doubtless Roe had often seen, in Marlowe's play,

> The Scythian Tamburlaine
> Threatening the world with high astounding terms,
> And scourging kingdoms with his conquering sword.

Merchantes the 8,000 *mamodies* resting of his debt. He answered that he had vndertaken to bee our Paymaster, and gaue present order to giue a bill to receiue it at Suratt; which I leaue Master Bidolph to follow. So I tooke my leaue, and Comming out was followed by all his wayters and Porters soe shamfully that I halfe paid for my Cloake before I gate out.[1] By Morning I gott home.

In the way thither I receiued an answer[2] of my lettres sent long since to Suratt, which I supposed miscarried, but found that they had kept my *Pattamar* one month and fower dayes, only to dispose their busines without my knowledge. They aduise mee of their sending the *Iames* to discouer Iasques, with the greatest quantity of Cloth, lead, quicksiluer, and teeth, and diuers factors, beeing forced to yt as a Comodity that would not vent in India (yet not many monthes since they disputed with mee that these species would driue the whole trade);[3] notwithstanding that I had enformed them that in Persia in the hart these kynd were lesse saleable, in the sckirtes (wher was no trade) not vendible at all. Next that they haue made mony vp to Agra, which cannot be returned by the end of Ianuary. Thus without once consulting any man they doe most absurdly all of their owne heades, which I reprehended with some roundnes, and neede not repeat the reasons I gaue agaynst their courses nor my opinion, beeing sent to the Consultation and entered in its order among my lettres. They sent mee a Copy of some Clauses of the Companyes Commission which they pretend concerned mee; but in the first, about the Persian employment, they haue proceeded as if it concernd mee not. The rest are friuolous and, by misenformation into England, to no purpose; and

[1] On the occasion when the Mogul presented Roe with a cup (p. 256), the latter was obliged to give "to the Kings porters and wayters of the *Guzellchan*" 36 Jahangír rupees (Roe's Accounts).

[2] See *Surat Letterbook* (I. O. Records), s. d. October 22nd, 1616.

[3] P. 166 *n.*

this is all it hath pleasd them to acquaynt mee with. They confesse the receipt of the mony recouered by mee, of their better vsage at Suratt; but after I had procured order to restore bribes, and brought the envy vpon mee, they release it in curtesy to procure fauour for them selues. Concerning Zulpheckcarcons remayner they write mee they haue not leysure, and are loath to offend them that owe part, and so giue mee no account. Yet I haue procured order for yt. But if I had receiued from them in six monthes a partition,[1] I had gotten ready mony; if now it be lost I can doe no more; their negligence must answere it.

November 10.—All the towne beeing almost remooued, I was left behynd and could procure no Camells nor Cartes, notwithstanding my warrant.[2] The Persian Embassador in the same case complaynd and had speedy redresse; vpon Notice wherof I sent to the Court, and expect answere.

November 11.—I receiued two warrants for Carts and Camells at the kinges Price; which I sent the officer.

November 13.—After two dayes search and layeing the Townes endes I could not bee fitted; so many wanted that vsd force, the great men hauing souldiers euery wayes out to catch all vp; and it is a woonderfull matter to remooue the two *leskars* and all the Citty at once. I despeeded my aduise to the Consultation at Suratt, and to vrdge them to such demandes as were Needfull.

November 14.—I receiued from Agra that, in barter of ould Indico (a meane sort that lay on the owners handes) with halfe mony, they had Putt off 20 Clothes that were as heauy to vs and as vnsaleable; but I am of opinion if the

[1] A statement showing the different persons from whom the money was due.

[2] "The King. . . . wantes for himselfe and the Prince 4,000 Camells" (Roe to Surat factors, November 12th, 1616).

Indico will make mony it is no ill bargayne. Cloth is drye Merchandice at best.[1]

November 16.—The king gaue order to fire all the *leskar* at Adsmere to compell the People to follow, which was dayly executed. I was left almost desolate; and the Persian Embassador, who had fought, Chydd, brauld, Complaynd, but could not gett remedy, in the same estate. Wee sent to bemone on another, and by his example I began to resolue to buy; for many would sell that at the kinges Price would not hire; and I Cast it at the best hand I could, almost to saue the hire, though the carts were deare; for in three monthes the Price was eaten. Necessitye enforced mee, for the Towne was burnd and desolate. I was in danger of theeues that from the army came and robbd in the night, and I could not find bread to eate; yet I sent anew to Court, and resolued to abyde all the inconveniences of a hard seige.

November 17.—Notwithstanding the default of account from Suratt of the remayner of Zulphercarcon, yet I sent to the Prince for his promised bill, who vndertooke the Payment, and so I receiued his lettre Commanding to Certefye what was vnpayd of the 8,000 *mamoodies* demanded (for that some of it was Chardged to Abram chan) and the remayner to bee Payd to the factor at Brampoor, which lettre I sent the factors as a full conclusion. But withall I was certefyed that now the Prince was gone and I had tooke my leaue, as hee thought, Content with his Promises, hee had giuen order to entercept all the Presentes and to force them to his *leskar*. I returned

[1] In October, 1615, Kerridge wrote to Keeling that English cloth was much desired at Agra, but too expensive to find many purchasers; "neither is it vsed at all in garments, but in Couerings for Ellophants, Coaches, Pallambkynes, saddles, &c. The Country aboue aboundeth with Course Cloth made ther, better Coullers and Cheaper by Far then in England; so that ours is vsed more for novelty then for want." (*Addl. MS.* 9366.)

that first they should kyll the English that conducted them; and purposed so soone as I could gett carriadge to remooue to Complayne to the king. Iudge now the fayth of this Prince and my vexation.

I receiued from Goa for truth that Don Emanuell de Meneses with about 300 of those saued ashoare from out the Admirall were arriued, poore, robbd, and rifled by the inhabitantes of Angazesia, who had slayne many and forced some to Circumsicion;[1] on the 24 of October not one of the fleete sett out from lishbon arriued,[2] to their great woonder: The Gallion of Mozambique was fought with by the Hollander that lately departed from Suratt, who lay off and on before Goa as shee came in to meete the shipes expected; she was rich in Gould and other Comodityes, but shee escaped, by nearnes of the Port. Obserue the bouldness of the Hollander to attempt with one shipp and to braue the head of the Indias.

I receiued a promise for Camelles to remooue.

November 18.—I could not procure carriadge, but was so dayly delayed that [I] feard to stay. Two Carts I was enforced to buy, and Camells I was constantly promised. Master Bidolph remayned in the Princes *leskar* to gett in mony. The king was yet but 12 *course* from Adsmere. The Iesuite tooke his leaue of mee, beeing forced to buy carriadg, notwithstanding his order for yt out of the kinges store; but scarcetye punnished all men. This empty tyme offering no discourse of myne owne affayres, I shall digresse conueniently to mention the estate of Sultan Cursoronne, of whose new deliuery into the handes of his enemyes

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[1] Cp. p. 342.

[2] According to Faria y Sousa, three vessels started; one sprang a leak and had to return; a second lost company on the coast of Guinea, owing to a storm, but ultimately reached Goa in safety; the third (the Admiral) was destroyed by the English fleet, as already narrated.

euery mans hart and mouth was full. The king, notwithstanding hee had so farr agreed to satisfye his proud sonne at his departure, yet it seemes ment not to wincke at any injury offered to the elder; and partly to secure him in the handes of Asaph chan, partly to satisfy the People that murmered and feared the practice of some treachery against him, he tooke occasion to declare himselfe publiquely. Asaph chan had visited his new Prisoner and in his fashion did not acknowledg him as his Prince, but rudely prest vpon him against his will and with no reuerence. Som are of opinion he Pickt a quarrell and knoweing the braue nature of the Prince, that hee would not beare indignitye, tempted him to drawe his swoord or to vse some violence, which [the] guard should suddenly reuenge, or ells it should be declared to the king as an attempt to kill his keeper and to escape. But the Prince was patienter; only he gott a frend to acquaynt the king with the manners of his Iaylor. The king called Asaph chan at the *Durbar* and asked when hee sawe his Chardge. He answered: Two dayes Past. His Maiestie replyed: What did you with him? He sayes: Only visitt him. But the king pressd him to know what reuerence and fashion hee carried toward him. Asaph chan found his Maiestie knew what had passd, and Confessed hee went to see him in affection and to offer his seruice, but that the Prince refused him admittance into his Chamber, which, because hee had Chardge of his safetie, hee thought it both necessary for him to doe and discurtesye in the other to deny; therfore he prest in. The king returns quick: When you were in, what sayd you, and what did you? What duty showed you toward my sonne? Hee standes blanck, and confesseth hee did not any reuerence; wherat the king tould him Hee would make his Proud hart know him to bee his eldest and beloued heyre, his Prince and Lord: and if hee once heard of any the least want of reuerence or duty

toward him, hee would Command his sonne to sett his feete on his Neck and trample on him: that he loued Sultan Coronne well, but hee would make the world know he did not entrust his sonne among them for his ruine.

November 19.—I receiued from Agra that they receiued new bills from Suratt, when theyre Caruan[1] was out of towne, yet that they would execute their Commission, though ther can bee no hope to arriue sooner at Suratt then the end of Ianuarye.

[*Thus farr went the Iournall for England. The next beginns the* 20 *of Nouember this present month.*]

November 20.—I receiued from the Court a new warrant for my Carriadge, which procured mee 8 Comelles from the officer, but misserable ones, such as would not suffice mee; so that I was compelld to dispatch my selfe away now, left all alone to buy for my supplement.

November 22.—I remooued into my Tents.

November 23 & 24.—I stayd for the Merchanntes; and receiued in answere from Spahan[2] that my lettres were dispeeded for Aleppo: that our Comming into Persia was expected, but on Conditions to fitt the Shabas, so that it might aduance his dessigne of diuerting his silkes from the way of Turkye: that the Generall of the Grand signior lay with a mighty army at Argerome,[3] six dayes march short of Tauris, vncertayne whether to assayle the Citty or to enter Gorgeston[4] and Gilan,[5] the Countryes of silkes, to wynn that by conquest which hee was prohibited by Commerce: to meete both attemptes the Shabas was

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[1] Caravan.

[2] See pp. 128-133. The date of the receipt of these letters from Persia is left as Roe has given it; but it seems clear that it is a mistake. They must have come to hand on the 27th, between the writing of Roe's two letters to Sir Thomas Smythe (see p. 352).

[3] Erzeroum. [4] Georgia.

[5] Ghilan, a province of north-western Persia, bordering on the Caspian. It was subdued by the Sufi Sháhs in the sixteenth century.

encamped at Salmas,[1] a village indifferently seated in the way: but if in two monthes the Armyes encounter not, winter approaching and the wantes that will attend such multitudes will dissolue them both without any honorable action; or if they meete, the Persian, though by report 180 thousand, will not aduenture battayle, but beeing light and able to march easely, without Cannon and baggage, will fall on and off on euery syde so on the Turkes army as hee will breake and waste him without hazard.[2] With these I receiued a Packett of lettres directed to on Ieronimo[3] Galecia, resident in Lahor, wherin I found diuers Commissions and lettres of Deputation directed to him in the Name of Bartholomew Hagatt,[4] consull in Aleppo, and others, constituting him as their procurator for the recouering of diuers monyes and goodes in the handes of Signor Bonelli, their factor resident in Lahor, who about ten monthes Past was slayne and robbd; with diuers Notes of seuerall Cargazons, bills of exchange and ready mony verifyed by the seale and subscription of Ieronimo Foscarini, consull in Soria,[5] and Stepheno Sala his Chancellor, taken out of the registers of his office, all which amounted to a great summe, and were traded in Indya by the sayd Bonelli as agent for a Partnership of the Principalls of diuers Nations residing in Aleppo, to Padre Ieronimo Xauier. Which lettres and seuerall Packets comming by error into my handes, I reserued with Purpose to acquaynt the Iesuitte liuing at Court, and so to proceed as befitted.

[1] "Selmas" is marked on a map in the English version (1669) of the travels of the Holstein ambassadors to Persia. It is shown as a village near the western side of Lake Gokcha, in about the position of the modern town of Novo Bayazid.

[2] The war is related at length in Von Hammer's *History of the Ottoman Empire* (vol. viii of the French version).

[3] This should be "Giovanni": see under December 7th, and also Roe's letter to Smythe at f. 149 of the MS.

[4] Appointed English Consul at Aleppo about 1611. He was a freeman of the East India Company, and sent them intelligence from time to time (see *Letters Received by the East India Company*, vol. i, p. 273).

[5] Syria.

To the East India Company.[1]

(*Addl. MS.* 6115, f. 140.)

24 Nouember, 1616.

My Honourable Friends,

I receiued your lettre on the twelfth of October, 1616, from the *Charles*, safely arriued with foure ships at the barr of Suratt the six and twentieth of the former Month. Of what pasd at Sea I doubt not you will receiue ample relation;[2] only a little difference in the report of our fleete and the Portugalls I will mention: that wee began the fight, and that no viceroy beeing sent this yeare, an ancient Souldier, Don Emanuell de Meneses, that had twice beene Generall of their Forces, was in the Admirall, who, beeing beaten, ran herselfe ashore on Angazatia, the greatest of the Islandes of Comora, wher hee gott aland with the suruiuars of his force and caused the ship to bee fiered, which but for respect of him had yeilded; that the Ilanders robbd them and sett them ashoare att Mosambique, and are nowe arriued at Goa. This tale hangs ill together; for that I know they first made fiue shot, and that it is impossible they could Passe from Anguzesia to Mosambique in a Canoe, or that the inhabitants, hauing robbd them, durst carry them into their strength; or that all this Could bee effected and newes of their arriuall come from Goa in so little tyme.[3] So that my judgement is, they make their relation as neare ours as they Can, with Creditt, and are loth to confesse truth, that eyther all Perished, or the Viceroy, which were the greatest losse and dishoner euer happened to them in India.

I shall not neede write you any long Discourse of your affaires, nor my opinion, for that in a Continued Journall I haue sett downe all Passages, and send you the Copyes of my lettres to your factoryes, wherin many Poynts are disputed and opened; from both which you may make best your owne Collection and judgment; for in them casually all your businese is handeled and discussed at full, and it may bee collected into such a Method as you may sitt at home and see it at once.

But because some Poyntes in my last lettres I swalowed at my first Comming at others reports, which since I fynd vayne and friuolous, and others Perhaps are yet vnresolued in my Generall

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[1] A part of this letter was printed by Purchas (vol. i, p. 589), but with an incorrect date and many errors in the text.

[2] See p. 284.

[3] The story was, however, substantially correct. The survivors, after being plundered and ill-treated by the natives, were taken off by a Muhammadan trader, who carried them to Mombasa. There they embarked for Goa on September 10th.

discourse, I will runn ouer the Materiall Poyntes with breuitye. For I extreamly desier that you once vnderstood the Constitution of this trade, how to gouerne and settle it; that by varietye of fond opinions you bee not councelled to vnnecessary Chardge, nor fall into grosse errors and damage.

But first I desire you to receiue in Particular answer of your lettre that the vnkindnes conceiued betweene mee and Captain Keeling was not so far rooted that it was woorth your trouble or excuse. It is true I wrote to my Honorable frend[1] somwhat that passd betweene vs. I did only dischardge my hart, without Purpose to haue it spread as a Complaynt; his fauour to mee extended it beyond my meaning. Men cannot liue without some distast, especially wher fawners and flatterers seeke to endeare themselues by others disquiett. Wee parted frends.[2] It is lesse troublesome and easier to forgett discurtesyes then to lay them vp or dispute them. I was not borne to a life smooth and easy; all my actions haue beene mingled with crosses and rubbes, that I might rather say I wrestled then walked toward my Graue. But God prouides euery man a Portion fitt for his Condition, and I am Content. I neuer doubted your performance with mee in mony nor any other contract; I did averr soe much in that lettre and my answere to Captain Keeling. Nor will I Complayne of any Narrownes in my allowance. I made a Couenant; I must abyde by it, and will endeauour to effect yt. I will acquaynt you in tyme with all Particulars of expence and referr myselfe to you. I know you ment not but that my labor should bee recompensd. My sincerity toward you in all Actions is without spott; my Neglect of Priuat Gayne is without example, and my frugalitye beyond your expectation. I was neuer an ill husband of my Creditt nor any trust Committed to mee. My Patrimoniall vnthriftines only I feele and repent. I pray God I may so affect your desires as it may meritt what you giue. I will bragg of no industrie nor successe. Judge mee by my Actions, Not by the fauour of an Infidell King, with whom yet I stand on such outward showes of Creditt as Neuer any stranger did; but want of language and an enterpreter that will deliuer mee truly is an extreame Prejudice.

Concerning the ayding the Mogoll or waffing[3] his subiects into the Redd Sea, it is now vselesse, yet I made offer of your affections; but when they need not a curteyse, they reguard it as a dogg doth dry bread when his belly is full. The King hath peace with the Portugalls, and will neuer make a Constant warr, except first wee displant them. Then his greatnes will step in for a share of the benifitt, that dares not partake the Perill. When they haue Peace, they scorne our assistance, and speake as

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[1] Sir Thomas Smythe. [2] See p. 18 *n.* [3] Convoying.

lowed as our Canon; if warr oppresse them, they dare not putt out vnder any protection, nor will pay for yt. You must remooue from you all thought of any other then a trade at their Port; wherin if you can defend your selues, leaue them to their fortune. You can neuer oblige them by any benifitt, and they will feare you sooner then loue you. Your residence you neede not doubt so long as you tame the Portugall. Therfore, avoyd all other Chardge as vnnessesary, that resists[1] not him; hee only can prejudice you. For a Fort, at my first arriuall I receiued it as very Necessarie; but experience teaches mee wee are refusd it to our aduantage. If hee would offer mee ten, I would not accept one. First, wher the riuer is Comodious, the Cuntry is barren and vntraded; the Passadges to parts better Planted so full of theeues that the Kings authoritye avayles not, and the strength of the hilles secures them in that life. If it had beene fitt for trade, the Naturalles would haue Chosen it, for they feele the incomoditye of a barrd hauen; and it is argument enough of some secrett inconuenience, that they make not vse of it. But if it were safe without the walls, yet is it not an easy woorke to diuert trades and to drawe the resort of Merchantes from their accustomed Marts, especially for our Comoditye, which is bought by Parcelles, and cannot be called staple. Secondly, the Chardge is greater then the trade can beare; for to maintayne a garison will eate the Profitt. It is not an hundred men can keepe it; for the Portugall, if hee once see you vndertake that course, will sett his rest vpon it to supplant you. A warr and trafique are incompatible. By my consent, you shall no way engage your selues but at sea, wher you are like to gayne as often as to loose. It is the beggering of the Portugall, notwithstanding his many rich residences and territoryes, that hee keepes souldiers that spendes it; yet his garrisons are meane. He neuer Profited by the Indyes, since hee defended them. Obserue this well. It hath beene also the error of the Dutch, who seeke Plantation heere by the Swoord. They turne a woonderfull stocke, they proule in all Places, they Posses some of the best; yet ther dead Payes consume all the gayne. Lett this bee receiued as a rule that if you will Profitt, seeke it at Sea, and in quiett trade; for without controuersy it is an error to affect Garrisons and Land warrs in India. If you made it only against the Naturalles, I would agree; to make it for them, they are not woorth it, and you should be veary warie how you engage your reputation in yt. You cannot so easely make a faier retraict as an onsett; one disaster would eyther discreditt you, or interest

[1] Purchas, apprehensive lest this should seem too aggressive, adds the following note:—"Vnderstand this, so long as they by force and armes oppose the English proceedings and seeke to supplant them, as hitherto."

you in a warr of extreame Chardge and doubtful euent. Besides, an action so subiect to Chance as a warr is most vnfittly vndertaken, and with most hazard, when the remoetnes of Place for supply, succors and Councell subiectes to vnrecouerable losse; for that wher is most vncertaynty, remidies should bee soe much the nearer to occur to all occasions. At sea you may take and leaue; your Designes are not Published.

The roade of Swally and the Port of Suratt are fittest for you in all the Mogolles territory. I haue weyed it well, and deliuer you that shall neuer bee disprooued. You neede no more; it is not Number of Ports, factoryes and residences that will profitt you; they will encrease chardge, but not recompence it. The Conueniency of one respectiuely to your sales, and to the Comoditye of Investmentes, and the well employing of your seruants is all Needfull. A Port to secure your ships, and a fitt Place to vnlade, will not be found together. The Roade at Swally, during the season, is as safe as a Pond; Suratt, Cambaya, Barooch, and Amadauaz are better traded then all Indya, and seated Comodiously. The inconueniencyes are—the Portugall at sea, and the landing of goods. To meete with which first, you must bring to Passe that your ladinges bee ready by the end of September at your Port—which may bee effected by a stock beforehand, or by taking vp mony for three monthes—and so you may dischardge and lade in one, and depart in excellent season for England; and the Enemy shall not haue tyme with force to offend you, who wilbe Newly arriued; and if the Preparation be ancienter, wee can know yt. For the second, to land goods without danger of Frigattes, and to saue the Carriadge ouer land, you must send a Pinnace of 60 Tunne with ten Pieces, that drawes but seuen or eight foote water, to passe vp the riuer betwene Swally and Suratt; and so your goods wilbe safe, and in your owne Command to the Custume-house-Key; and it will a little awe the towne. Shee may proceed after according to your appoyntment.

The Comodityes you sell passe best in that quarter. The goods you seeke beeing principally Indico and Cloth,[1] no one Place is so fitt for both; and the lesse inconueniences are to bee Chosen. Of this you shall gather more at lardge my opinion and reasons in my Iournall and discourses to your factors. Perhaps some of them will contradict it. But I am not deceiued, nor haue Priuate ends, to keepe factories to imploy and aduance frends. The Places and Number of seruants I haue deliuered my Judgment in, and Could manifest the Past errours, but not mend them. Syndu is possesd by the Portugall;[2] or, if it were free, were no fitter then Suratt, nor safer; as it is, it wilbe more subiect to Perill. Your

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[1] Calicoes.

[2] See page 218 *n*.

factors sent me foure or fiue Clauses out of your Commission, that concernd Persia, a fort, a Plantation in Bengala, all which they knew were not of vse; with no other purpose, proposition, or resolution they will acquaynt me. They cannot abyde I should vnderstand or direct them. If they resolue of any thing in their opinion for your profitt, and send to mee, I will effect the Court part; but you will find in my lettres and Journall how they vse mee, which doubtlesse at first was sowed by some Jealousy of yours, which will cost you dearly.[1]

For the settling your trafique here, I doubt not to effect any reasonable desier. My Creditt is sufficient with the King, and your force will alway bynd him to Constancy. It will not neede so much helpe at Court as you suppose; a little Countenance, and the discretion of your factors, will with easy Chardge returne you most profitt. But you must alter your stock. Lett not your seruants deceiue you; cloth, lead, teath,[2] quicksiluer are dead Comodityes, and will neuer driue this trade. You must succor yt by Change,[3] and you will find my opinion discussed in lettres.

I haue this yeare passd many difficultyes by the Peruersenes of Sultan Coronne, Lord of Suratt; but by Gods direction I haue ouercome them. Articles of treaty on equall tearmes I cannot effect; want of Presents disgraced mee. But yet by Peices I haue gotten as much as I desird at once. I haue recouered all bribes, extortions, debts made and taken before my tyme till this day; or at least an Honorable composition. But when I deliuer the Next guiftes to the Mogoll, in the Princes absence, I will sett on anew for a formall contract.

The Presentes sent are to few to follow examples; they will scarce serue the first day. The rule is at euery arriuall of a fleete the Mogol, [and] the Prince during his signory in our Port, will expect a formall Present (and lettres from the King our sollicitor) from you, which neede not bee deare if well Chosen. Your Agent must be furnished with a China shop[4] to serue little turnes, for often giuing of trifles is the way of preferment. It cannot bee auoyded, and I haue beene scorned for my Pouerty in that kind. Particulars I haue sent of such as I suppose will please.[5] At my deliuerie of the first sent by mee Contentment outwardly appeared, but I will acquaynt you with the Cabinettes opinion, by which you may Judg. Three exceptions were taken and disputed by the King and his *Priuadoes*.[6] First, it was

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[1] Cp. p. 97. [2] Ivory.

[3] "The surest way to rayse a stock without losse to our Country were from the sowth [Bantam, etc.], all China Comodityes beeing as deare heere as in England, and spices at good proffitt" (Roe to Capt. Pepwell, September 10th, 1616).

[4] See p. 134. [5] See p. 352 *n*.

[6] An intimate friend, or in the case of a king (as here), a favourite. This was one of the Spanish terms current in England at the time.

censured to name Presentes in a Kinges lettre to bee sent by a Principall man his Ambassador and such poore ones deliuered, meaner and fewer then when they came with lesse ostentation; that if they had not beene named as from a Monarch it had beene lesse despiceable; for such is the Pride that although the Coach for the forme and for a Modell gaue much Content, yet the matter was scornd, and it was neuer vsd vntill two other of rich stuff were made by it and that couered with Cloth of gould, harnes and furniture, and all the tynn Nayles headed with siluer or hatched,[1] so that it was nine Monthes a repayring; when I sawe it, I knew it not.[2] Secondly, it was excepted against that his Majestie did write his Name before the Mogoll; but it matters not for that dull Pride. Thirdly, that his Maiestie in his lettre intimated that honor and profitt should arise to this Prince by the English or their trade, which hee so much despiseth to heare of that hee will willingly bee ridd of it and vs if he durst. The forgetting to send mee lettres diminisheth my Creditt, which is to bee maynteyned by all Ceremonyes; and Sultan Coronne expected one as an Honor to him. . . .

First, Concerning Persia. . . . What my Judgment is you will find by my relations and lettres; how your factors haue proceeded I hope they will aduise. I sent a *Patmar*, whom they kept a Month without answer now in the heate of busines, because they would resolue the settling a factory at Jasques without my knowledge.[3] I know they vnderstand not the Place, nor haue any ground for what they did; and, besides the neglect of mee, I feare haue sent a dead vnvendible stock. I shalbe most glad if I bee in an errour; but I know, if I err, it is vpon better foundation then they can prosper in. If it had beene fitt to settle in that Place, if once they had acquaynted mee with the Purpose, I would haue geuen them lardge aduise and much assistance from the Persian Ambassador resident at Court, who offered mee his Councell; but now, as they beginn against my Consent, they may proceede without my assistance. . . . Sir Robert Shirly by Contrary wyndes lost his Passadge for Lisbon last yeare and remaynes at Goa for the Present returne of the fleete. His negotiation continewes full of hope to bring the spaniard in to joyne with the Portugall. I haue sent transcripes of my opinion which I first apprehended, and am Constant to yt; and God hath prevented him one yeare and giuen you leasure for the future.[4]

Next, I hould it woorthy your Consideration to resolue som-

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[1] Ornamented with engraved lines.

[2] Compare p. 322. [3] See p. 330.

[4] Roe had some hopes that Sherley "might fall into the handes of our shipping." "That fleete," he wrote to Pepwell, "is easilye beaten; one assault would more disharten them and giue vs more reputation then many prosperouse defences."

what for your safety and quiett in the road with the Portugall. Ther are but two wayes, a Peace or a compulsion. The first I haue anew vndertaken[1] by the Mediation of a Jesuite, who foresees their ruine; but I despayre of any successe, both that the viceroy wantes authoritie or is to Proud to vse yt. The Next is force, which is allway to disaduantage when you only defend. My opinion is that you give order to all your fleetes to make Price[2] of them, and that, as you Nowe ride at Swally roade to protect one ship, that you would send that guard next yeare to ride before Goa to braue them or burne them, at least to stop them that they durst not Putt to sea in December. So you shall enforce them to loose their seasons; one or two returnes hindered would vndoe them. On my woord they are weake in India and able to doe your fleete no harme but by supplyes from Lisbon, which aduertisement you must harken after and accordingly accommodate your strength.[3] You will add much reputation to your Cause, and force them to that which their Pride will neuer suffer them to see they want more then you, which is, a quiett trade.

My third Proposition is for your trafique into the redd sea.[4] It is more important then all other proiectes. My Councell is that one of your smallest shipes, with the fittest English goodes and such other as this Country yeildes, yearly goe in Company of the Guzerattes and trade for them selues for mony, which is taken in abundance, and returne in September with them, to supply this Place. The Profitt exceedes all the trades of Indya and will driue this alone. The danger is rather a Jealousy then substanciall. When the turckes betrayed Sir Henry Middleton,[5] our factoryes and Courses in these Partes were vnknowne to them, and doubtlesse wee, beeing strangers in that sea, were mistrusted for Pirattes. Experience of vs hath made them know better, and in Company of the Guzerattes, for their sake (whom they cannot spare) wee should bee admitted. The King would write to the Admirall to entertayne our consortship, and they would be glad of it, and it were one of the best securityes of our frendship. The Dutch haue Practised it this yeare to great aduantage and wer well receiued. Our owne warines might secure vs. They must ride six monthes for wyndes, tyme enough to send all the goodes ashore by parcelles, and neuer to trust aboue one or two

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1 See p. 285.

2 Prize.

3 "Some of their best frendes here haue aduertised that, although they haue not giuen ouer the quarrell but will attempt our subversion in this place, yet they Confesse that their power here wilbe able to doe no good, hauing made experience of their greatest force; but that they expect it from Lisbone, and to that end haue aduised and Petitioned the King of Spayne" (Roe to Pepwell, September 10th, 1616).

4 See the Introduction.

5 See *Lancaster's Voyages*, p. 174.

factors and little comoditye at once. They will not declare their treachery for trifles; and I doubt not you might procure the Grand Signiors Command to meete them. If I haue any judgement ther is not any matter for your profitt of such importance. Port Pequnua in Bengala you are misinformed in. Ther is no mart nor resort of Merchauntes. It is traded by the Portugalles from Pegu with rubyes, topasses and Saphiers; and returnes Cloth, which is fyne, but you may bee furnished nearer hand. But if your factors require it I will send a *firmaen*. I would long since haue done yt, but was discouraged by the Consultation at Suratt.[1]

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[1] See pp. 99, 180, and 217, and also Roe's later letter to the Company under date of February 14th, 1618. The following further entries relating to this little-known endeavour of the Company to reach Bengal seem to be worth recording :—

"Concerning their [the Company's] aduise for Port Pequina [Sátgáon], in which the Portugals are seated, if you write I will send downe a *firmaen*. But I lett you first know that they are ill and falsly enformed, for it will vent no Comoditye, Neyther is ther any Mart from Cathaya or Tartary, but a few Peddling fellowes that Carrie Packes ; and their aduise may be censured by this only, that joyne Indolstan as a Cuntry trading thither, which is a generall Name of all the land betweene Indus and Ganges of such a language. It is true Bengala makes fine Cloth, but the Company Need not send a factory to buy that Comoditye ; they may many wayes be supplyed at easier rates then to send a ship to yt, or passe it soe farr by land, at their owne Portes of Masolapatan and Guzeratt. For sugar, it is base, not woorth frait, and the wax in no Plenty. The best comoditye is a raw silke and Pretty stuffes made therof, which are sould to Agra, but in small numbers." (Roe to the Surat factors, November 12th, 1616 : *Addl. MS.* 6115, f. 135.)

"The Port you named at Bengala, this *Norose* I spake with the *Shabander* and with an ould man that had beene Gouernor. They protest it to bee an ill harbor, subiect to the Portugall, for that Satagam [Chittagong], where they are planted 1500, is but another outlett of the same riuer. Yt is in the protection of a *Raia* scarcely in good obedience. Finally, they wilbe glad of our Comming soe wee can beate the Portugall quite out ; otherwise, they say, wheras now they haue quiett, theyr seas and trafique wilbe interrupted. They giue noe hope of sale, except of spices ; nor Can warrant the transport vp of them by Riuer to Agra. Yet vpon your next, if you resolue I shall sett it afoote, I will ; though I am resolued of a repulse before hand ; all the great men are against vs." (Same to same, April 7th, 1617 : Ibid., f. 180.)

"Concerning Bengala, I mooued the fittnes of a residence to Lucas Andrinus [Antheunis, see pp. 180, 217] at Mesolapatan, who yet giues noe encouragment vpon any Certainty of the Place, but only wishes that if such a *firmaen* be procured, it may bee sent ouerland to him, from whence best vse may be made of yt, if any bee required. So that my Purpose is to aduenture for a Generall Grant of trad vpon all the Coast of Bengala, which, though I know it wilbe denyed for the

You haue beene wrongd in here maynteyning needlesse factoryes, by making New wages and entertayning seruantes vnfitt and superfluous. . . . You were much wrongd in the *Hopes* returne. If I bee not misinformd, Priuat mens goodes were shippd, and your owne sent about by Bantam for want of stowage. For Indico I haue scarrd all men, professing you haue made a Persian law irreuocable that whatsoeuer is sent is forfeyted. . . . I can find many faultes, but you giue mee Power to mend non; so that I might liue at rest. The *dusturia*[1] in all bought goodes (besides the brokars fee), which is due to the buyer, is a great matter. The first is in Indico, two *Ceare* to a *Mand;* the second is so many *Pice* vpon a *rupy* when the account is Cast vp;[2] a third in some Places at Payment is one vpon a hundred. Which of these or what you receiue I know not; it is woorth your enquirye. It will make in a few years two rich men. . . .

Now I may a little speeke concerning my selfe. First, for expence I send you a yeares account, wherin I haue traueld, kept you two howses (sometyme seuen and eight of your seruantes, their horses and *Peons*, euer four of them), built and repayrd; so reasonable that if you compare it with others I shall not neede to bragg of yt. Two thinges I am sure of: the example did displease some; and that the stewardship is honestly carried, weekly examined by mee, and euery Parcell by my order, and that you are not deceiued of one *Pice.* Next that, paying my mens wages all here (else they could not liue) out of my allowance, and the desier to appeare handsome and Honorable abroad,[3] with liberalityes not brought to your account, make mee soe bare that you neede not feare my trading nor growing rich. The Kinges bountyes are rather Markes of honor then of Profitt. I haue supplyed a yeare in presentes of myne owne stock and aske not to deminish yours a Penny in Indya. All your other seruantes part not with a knife but at four for one ready Mony. . . . I shall not returne richer by 500*l.* for my stay, but in my honest deseart to you; which I will bring vnder good Certificatt and trust to you for recompence. I will settle your trade here secure with the King, and reduce it to order if I may be heard. When I haue soe done I must plead against my selfe that an Ambassador liues not in fitt honor. I could sooner dye then be subiect

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trouble like to Ensue by our dissention with the Portugall in those seas, yet it will occasion mee to fall lower to some fitt Port which the King may assigne, if hee will grant any; but I am dayly answered for the Comoditye wee bring wee hau too many already." (Same to same, June 6th, 1617: Ibid., f. 197.)

[1] Hind. *dastúrí*, "that which is customary," *i.e.*, a commission, fee, or allowance.

[2] Forty seers went to the maund, and from eighty to a hundred pice to the rupee.

[3] See p. 98 *n.*

to the slauerye the Persian is content with. A meaner Agent would among these proud Moores better effect your busines. My qualety often for Ceremonyes eyther begettes you enemyes or suffers vnwoorthely.[1] The King hath often demanded an Ambassador from Spayne but could neuer obteyne it, for two reasons: first, because they would not giue Presentes vnwoorthy their kinges greatnes; Next, they knew his reception should not answere his qualety. I haue moderated it according to my discretion, but with a swolne hart. Halfe my Chardg shall corrupt all this Court to bee your slaues; and I assure you I can doe you better seruice at home; and so desire you to bid mee wellcome whensoeuer I come. I will not leaue your busines vnsettled; nor willingly loose tyme to no purpose. I desier you will examine my actions and accept my endeavours, and beleeue my hart is sincere to doe you seruice.

Postscript.—The best way to doe your busines in this Court is to find some Mogol that you may enterteyne for 1000 *rupees* by the yeare as your solicitor at Court. Hee must bee authorised by the King, and then hee will better serue you then ten Ambassadors. Vnder him you must allowe 500 *rupees* for another at your Port to follow the Gouernor and Customers and to aduertise his Cheefe at Court. These two will effect all. . . . .

Concerning Priuat trade, my opinion is you absolutly prohibit yt and execute forfeyture, for your busines wilbe the better done. All your loss is not in the goodes brought home. I see here the inconveniences you thinck not off. I know this is harsh to all men, and seemes hard; Men professe they come not out for bare wages. You shall take away the Plea if you resolue to giue very good to mens Content; then you know what you part from. But you must make good Choyce of your seruantes and use fewer. . .

. . . . I have drancke water this 11 Monthes, and Nothing els. Rack[2] I cannot endure, and your strong waters I would not meddle with. I hoped you would haue sent mee a Peice[3] of wyne; but now it is to late to wish. Trye a Cup or two of my liquor in a Morning next your hartes and then you will remember mee.[4] But I hope you will send for me home by the Next expected fleete, the Chardge being more then my employment can Merritt, and therfore I begg none now; though I could haue beene Pleasd that your seruantes aboord, that make very Merrie, had afforded

[1] See p. 119.

[2] Arrack, which of course could be had in plenty.

[3] A cask. "Home, Lance, and strike a fresh piece of wine" (Beaumont and Fletcher's *Mons. Thom.*, v, 8, quoted in Nares' *Glossary*).

[4] Another comfort Roe had missed was tobacco. He had expected to receive some from his friends by the fleet; but, this failing, he wrote to Pepwell to buy him a supply, "sweet, but not very strong, some four or five pounds, not exceeding 12*s.* the pound."

mee some. When I was aboord the *lyon*, it was an Errand from Surat to Come to drinck; but I am farr from the well. . . . .[1]

November 25.—Six *Course.* Hither Came Master Crowther from the Carauan despeeded from Agra, of whom I receiued that the Plauge was violent, and that the last bills were made vp to be payd at 45 days sight, so that they were enforced for dispatch to giue so many *Jangiers*[2] for their owne mony: That by the last of Nouember the goodes was like to passe by Adsmere. Which made me resolue to stay to speake with some of them, and to send my lettres and Papers for England with more safetye.

To Sir Thomas Smythe.

(I. O. Records: *O. C.*, No. 410.[3])

From the way, midnight,
November 27, 1616.

Sir,

An hower after I had sealed my lettr to you[4] in the way, the long expected Messenger retùrnd from Spahan, whom I dispatchd with my lettres ouer land, and with one to the Shabas; in answer of which William Robbins returnd mee a lettre, the materiall poynts wherof I send you.[5] He promiseth hope of trade to proffitt, but withall sayth Sir Robert Shirly hath confirmd at Goa a

[1] Enclosed in the letter is the note already mentioned of goods fit for presents or for sale at the court. These include table-knives, swords, gilt armour, precious stones, cloth of gold, looking-glasses, arras, pictures, wine ("strong waters are vnrequested now"), dogs, ostrich plumes, silk stuffs ("but no blew: it is the Coulor of Mourners"—cp. Terry), and "generally, any rare knack to Please the eye. These people are very Curious and can judge of woorkemanship well; but you must fitt them with variety, for they are soone Cloyd with one thing."

An undated copy of this list in the I. O. Records has been wrongly assigned to March, 1618, in the *Calendar of State Papers* (*E. Indies*), 1617-21 (p. 145).

[2] Jahángír rupees, *i.e.*, those coined since the accession of Jahángír, and consequently bearing his name. The rupees of the reigning monarch were reckoned worth a little more than those of his predecessors (Ovington's *Voyage to Surat*, p. 220). Biddulph, in a letter to the Company, dated February 15th, 1618, values the Jahángír rupee at 2*s*. 6*d*.; while Roe, about the same date (see *O. C.*, No. 610), calculates it at 2*s*. 7*d*.

[3] This is the original, in Roe's own hand. There is a copy in *Addl. MS.* 6115, f. 149.

[4] Of the same date (not printed).

[5] See p. 340.

peace with the Viceroy. But, Sir, the summe is this: except the Shabas bee assurd that wee will fetch all his comodytye by Sea, he will not loose his other wayes; and this shipp now sent in the heate of his expectation, with such goodes as are not pleasing to him, will disgrace our great promises and hopes. If hee take any dislike and thincks this is our uttmost, or at least a sample of our best comodityes, hee will reiect vs quite, and cast off all thought of vs, and eyther the more constantly resolue to goe thorough with the Spaniard or to make Peace with the Turke. One of them he must doe. If I had beene made priuy to the purposes of your seruants at Suratt in sending a ship to Jasques, I could haue preuented the hasard they runne; but you may now see their hast, and lack of respect to mee. If I left them as they are, it were just; but I am to account to you, and therfore by the assistance of this Embassador, I will speedely write to the kyng, and certefye him the reason of this ships arriuall, that was not fitted for Persia, but only putt in to see the port, and to show our forwardnes. I will entreat a contract for trade, that silke may bee sent downe for tryall, and that these goodes may bee vented, and that hee wilbe pleasd to giue mee directions for such lading as will fitt him.

Two thinges I warne you of in this trade; that to bring vp your goodes, and fetch downe theirs at your own chardges a thousand mile, I fynd by experience heare will eate vp your proffitt; and, though the hart of Persia bee quieter and better Gouerned, yet the way to Jasques is thorough Lar, that is scarce in good obedience, and subiect to the robberyes of the Balooches. Therfore all caruans must haue great guardes of horse, and this marrs the trafique of merchantes and leaues it only fitt for the Kyngs power to effect. The second thing is that you bee not engaged at Jasques in the same trouble and Chardges you are at in Suratt. For I am enformed the roade is woorse, open to Ormus, not aboue 5 leaugs distant, soe that you must be enforced to maynteyne a fleete for defence of the trader or hazard her yearly. These two considerations made mee doubtfull of sending yet wher was so small ground of profitt, or, if any, it is not woorth Chardges; and whensoeuer the Turke and Persian make Peace (for their warrs are too monstruous to continew), this trade wilbe agayne diuerted, for the Turke will not make any conclusion but with the liberty of the free and ancient entercourse of trade. And obserue one thing well: The parts of Persia that vent cloth, which in Steeles judgement will not exceed 500 a yeare—a small matter—and the rest wilbe expected to be supplyed in mony, are the same that produce the silke, and are nearest Turky, as Gordgestan and Gilan; and to those parts cloth can be brought cheaper by Aleppo then by Jasques, the voyadge at sea and land both shorter; and consequently silke will returne cheaper the same way and that in tyme will turne

back the passadge. But I would not discourage you in that I so extreamly desir, but only lett you know that wee seeke yt not right from England nor with English Comodytyes; for it will never bee a trade exept you can vndertake for a great quantetye, wherof the numbers of cloth speecifyed will not bee an Eighth part. And I cannot learne that any thing in England will succour yt, but that it must rise from the Sowthward, by Callicoes, *baftoes*,[1] shashes, spices, Rubies of Pegu, and such like, with some mony. The vse [which] can bee made with you of this ship is that, seeing Sir Robert Shirly hath beene stayd at Goa by Godes prouidence this yeare, that his Majestie wilbe pleasd to command his Embassador resident in Spayne to be attentiue vpon the arriuall of Shirly, that when hee hath deliuered his message (which I assure you he had instructions for before his comming out of Europe),[2] he may require an audience, and take notice of the Persian ouerture, and require the Kyng of Spayne in the name of his Majestie not to prejudice the subiects of England by this new contract, for that the Persian hath already, by his command sealed, geuen them free trade, and vpon assurance therof you haue sent a ship: that it is a free kyngdome, and if the peace or leauge bee made to the expulsion of our Nation, it is a just occasion of breach, at least a great discurtesye; and withall to declare that, if they proceede to exclude vs, they must resolue of a warr in that quarter, for if they[3] cannot trade like Merchantes, they[3] will like men of warr, and then perhaps our share may bee as good as theirs. Thus will I tamper with the Sha-bas, to keepe him from a resolution; for, whatsoeuer your factors thincke, I am peremptory in opinion all is lost and in vayne vntill the issue of Shirleys imployment bee broken, and a Contract made for an ample trade to come downe to the Port at the Persians chardge; for all the silke is his, and whensoeuer hee can bee sure to pass yt any way but by Turky, hee will readely embrace yt. This is my opinion, which I submitt to you; and, howeuer your factors loue to runne without mee, I will looke out to mend their faults and, like patient Job, pray and sacrifice for them, as he did for his sonnes whiles they banquetted. . . . . .

This leager[4] in Spahan was Arnold Lulls seruant, and I beleeue is out with his master. He hath noe matter in him, but language;

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[1] A kind of calico (Pers. *báfta*, "woven"), made principally in Broach and the surrounding district.

[2] Compare a passage in a letter from Roe to King James, November 28, 1616 (f. 152). "I iudge that the suddeyne entertaynment of the ouerture, soe Contrary to the resolution in beeing, arose out of some assurance and instructions brought by Shirly out of Spayne."

[3] "You" in the copy.

[4] William Robbins, of whom see p. 128. "Leiger" (one who "lies"

in that I thincke no English man equalls him—French, Spanish, Italian, Turkish, Persian, and some others. I trust him not much, for that he is Shirlyes Procurator; but yet I fynd he would fayne interest himselfe into your seruice, hoping so to compound and to returne to his countrye by your creditt, and to that end I thincke he would deliuer vp all Shirlyes busines into my bosome and betray him. But he is not woorth yt; only I show you what vse you may make of him if you please.

November 28.—Master Young[1] arriued, with whom I had much Conference about the inconueniences of passing downe our goodes so late, so incommodiously on Camelles, at so terrible Chardg; wherin I found that only this parcell of goodes, by the residence of factors vnnecessarily, by wages of *Peons*, by hyre of Camelles, and other duties, besides Customes on the way, and the damage in condition by falls and other inconueniences, with new horse and expence on the way, would cost 500 [*li.*] starling; but it was to late to remedye it, and wherein he, that desiered reformation, was Condemned of ignorance and Crossd in his particular affayres.

November 30.—The Carrauan arriued at Adsmere. The factors and a Polack, who with diuers fardles of Indico with two Italians kept Company to sell it at Suratt, Came to my Tents, wher I dispatchd my lettres and sett forward.

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abroad) was often applied to a resident ambassador, as opposed to one sent on a temporary mission. Cp. *Measure for Measure*, IV, i:—

> "Lord Angelo, having affairs to heaven,
> Intends you for his swift ambassador,
> Where you shall be an everlasting leiger."

[1] Robert Young, one of the Agra factors (see p. 208). In a letter to the Company at this time (*O. C.*, No. 411), Roe notes that the caravan consisted of 170 camels, and points out how much cheaper it would have been to employ carts instead. One cart would carry the loads of three camels, and would "march all day," while a camel goes only for five hours; moreover, the labour of continually packing and unpacking (with the resultant loss by theft or carelessness) would be avoided.

To Master Secretary Wynwoode.[1]

(*Addl. MS.* 6115, f. 150.)

From the Camp of the Great Mogol, Emperour of India.
Nouember 30, 1616.

If my last,[2] sent your Honour by the way of Aleppo, bee miscarried, this present discourse wilbe vndependent and obscure, which causeth mee to send a transcript that you may Command from Sir Thomas Smyth. How farre that dessigne of bringing in the Spaniard by Sheirly had proceeded, and my poore opinion, that will enforme; with the present estate of the warrs ther in preparation. What hath succeeded, your Honour shall receiue: that Sheirley was stayed at Goa, by falling short eight dayes of his passadge this past yeare, where he was entertayned with Honor and mayntenance[3] which makes mee iudge his offers and negotiation is gratious. The Shabas yet so dependes on that hope that hee Continewes the prohibition of exportation of silkes by Turky. Some few dayes since, I receiued advise from Spahan that Sheirley hath written to the King, that with much joy and ready embracement hee hath soe farre proceeded with the Viceroy of Goa in a Conclusion of this league as his[4] commission hath power, and that hee is ready to embarque for Spayne to accomplish yt fully. If it proceed and take effect, I can make it euident that it will reuiue and strengthen all the ruines and decayes of the Portugall in the Indies, and make all other wauering Princes accept them only. I will not presse the consequence, wher it wilbe soe fully vnderstood.

The Shabas is in the feild at Salmas,[5] a villadge indiffeirent to the wayes of Tauris or Gordgestan, attending the Turkes Generall, who, with a monstruous army (if it be not increased by fame) is encamped at Argerome, irresolute which of those two attempts hee shall beginn, beeing not aboue five dayes from the one, and ten from the other. But these great Armies will dissolue of

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[1] Printed by Purchas (vol. i, p. 588), but without the name of the person addressed, and, as usual, with many errors and omissions. It need scarcely be mentioned that Sir Ralph Winwood was Secretary of State from 1614 to 1617.

[2] Not extant, but no doubt sent in the packet despatched overland in the previous February (see p. 128).

[3] In the letter to King James already mentioned (p. 354), Roe says that the Viceroy is stated to have given Sherley ten thousand crowns, with a further allowance of one thousand per month. This report Roe believes "not to bee punctually true, because it is Shirlyes owne glorious realation."

[4] The Viceroy's.

[5] See p. 340. "The Persians Armie is 180,000 strong; the Turks double" (*Note in margin*).

themselues, and I am of opinion ther wilbe noe great effect of them, the wynter approaching; and that they will treate a Peace, which the Turke will neuer embrace but with the opening of the trade and liberty of ancient Commerce; which, though the Persian yeild vnto, yet if the Spaniard accept his offers, the liberty giuen the Turke wilbe vselesse, for that the silkes shall come downe to Ormus. But I hope your Honors will prevent yt. God hath prouided you leysure. The King of Persia lately enquired anew after the English, for hee is indifferent what Christian hath the trade, so that the Grand-Signior loose yt. But his first offer to the Spaniard will take his turne, and after wee may have the leauings. Wee haue sent to Jasques a ship from our Port of Suratt with Cloth and English goods, to make the first offer of a residence, and to gett a kind of a possession. For wher it was free to refuse or accept vs, it wilbe nowe an iniurie to turne vs out, beeing come vpon assurance of his lettre receiued by mee. But though I did not Consent to the goeing of this ship, because I knew both the Port vnfitt, the goods vnuendible and preiudiciall to the great expectation and promises—which makes me feare the Sha-bas will despise vs, and judge vs by this beginning, and so with the more roundnes eyther conclude with the Spaniard or make Peace with the Turke (for his dessigne is eyther wholy to diuert the trade or nothing)—yet I will mend yt as well as I can, by the helpe of an Ambassador lately arriued at this Court; who, I suppose by his humilitye, is come to gett ayd of mony, in which kynd hee often fyndes liberall releefes, and this King of India may better spare then any Monarch of the East.

The aduantage to bee made of yt in England is (if I may giue my opinion) that when Sir Robert Sheirley shall arriue in Spayne and negotiat his employment, the Ambassador of his Maiestie resident may craue audience, and produce the lettres of the Persian granted to us[1] and vrdge our possesion of the Port; and therfore requier, in the name of his Maiesty, that in this new contract either the English may bee comprehended, or at least that nothing passe on the Part of the King of Spayne preiudiciall to the subiects of his Maiestie, nor contrary to the amety of the two nations. Which if the Spaniard shall enterprise, to the expulsion of us, it is in my opinion (the trade beeing in a free Kingdome granted vs) a iust cause of such a breach as may produce lettres of mart and reprisall in all the Eastern Parts to right our selues. I will in the meane tyme amuse the Persian with as many doubts as I can infuse into him of the Spaniard, and hopes of vs.

In this Court, which is nowe in the feild towards the Conquest of Decan (with an effeminat army, fitter to bee a spoyle then a terror to enemyes) I shall so far effect my imployment as to

[1] "I have sent the Copyes" (*Marginal note*).

confirme our trade and people on equall conditions to the Inhabitants and borne subjects, who suffer themselues abuses of Governors which can neuer be remedyed but by an whole Change of the Regiment and forme of dominion. For the Constancy I will no farther giue my woord then our owne prosperitye, and the others feare, and the Portugalls feeblenes shall confirme to vs.

The trade is profitable and fit for England, but no way vnderstood by the Company how to effect it at best aduantage, and yett we haue done little but discouer errors. I haue no Power to meddle in that; but if I were at home tenn dayes, I could doe them better seruice then here now in ten years. To proue and demonstrate euery particular and Circumstance were rather the subiect of a booke then of a lettre. But I will doe my part euery way, according to my abilitye and judgment, faythfully and honestly.

Besides (though they may thinck I speake for myne own ends), I assure your Honor it is not fitt to keepe an Ambassador in this Court. I haue shuffled better out and escaped and avoyded affronts and slauish Customes clearer then euer any did. I am allowed rancke aboue the Persian, but hee out-stripps mee in rewards; his Master lyes neere vs. But his Maiestie commanded mee to doe nothing vnwoorthy the Honor of a Christian King, and noe reward can humble mee to any basenes. I see what the Persian does and suffers. I know one that might creepe and sue would effect more busines then I; for euery little matter cannot trouble the King, and his great men are more Proud, and expect that from mee I cannot giue them. The King of Spayne Could neuer bee drawne to send any, and their experience hath taught them that, besides hee should not bee receiued in honor correspondent to his qualetye, they know an easyer way to effect their ends. I shall not returne a rich man, and then many will condemne mee for want of Prouidence or witt to get yt; but they know not the Indies, nor mee; it growes heere in as rough wayes as in Europe. I will trust to the Company, and to my meritt.

I could write your Honor may remarckable accidents in this Gouerment and Kingdome. All the Policye and wicked craft of the Diuill is not practised alone in Europe; here is enough to bee learned, or to be despisd.[1] But you haue not leysure to entertayne so forreyne discourses. That Part which may bee woorth knowing—as the Proceedings of the Iesuitts, the growth of their Church, the Commixture of this Kingdome with Europe

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[1] In a letter to Prince Charles (*Addl. MS.* 6115, f. 129) Roe is still more emphatic on this point. "All Cunning that the Diuell can teach is frequent, eauen in the court, wher is wanting noe arte nor wicked subtillty to bee or doe euill, Soe that, Comparing the vices of some Cittyes in Europe which I once judged the Treasuries and sea of synne, I find them sanctuaryes and Temples in respect of these."

by trades, and the allyes it embraces—if I fynd not leysure to putt them into methode, I will weary your Honor with them by a fire-syde, in broken Peices.

The Portugall Pursues vs here with violent hatred; but God doth Chastise him, and his Pride sees it not. The Admirall Gallion bound for Goa, a vessell of fifteene hundred tunns, armed with sixe hundred men, falling among our fleete, a small ship haled her after the Curtesy of the sea, which shee requited with sylence, except of her Ordenance. The Commander of our fleete, Beniamin Joseph, came vp with her and demanded reason, but was returnd scorne; so that hee begann a fight, in which hee lost his life. A New Commission beeing opened, Humphry[1] Pepwell succeded him, to his Place and resolution, with the losse of his eye and other hurts fought vntill the Gallion, having her Mast shott, ran ashoare on Comara, an Iland inhabited by Moores, in the latitude of 11 degrees, 51 minutes; wher the Generall, Don Emanuell de Meneses, with three hundred escaped, but fired the ship. Shee was very rich, and the succor of India this yeare; her Companions were lost at sea, and on the 14 of October, there was noe newes of any of them, which were three ships.[2] This is the greatest disaster and disgrace euer befell them, for they neuer mist their fleete in September, nor lost any such vessell as this, which was esteemed invincible; and without supplyes they perish vtterly. The Islanders rifled the Generall and all his followers, and they are since arriued at Goa naked and bare in the Gallion of Mosambique, which had likwise beene dangered by a Hollander, but the nearnes of the Port saued her. All these considered, mee thinckes the Heauenes Conspire the fall of the Portugall in this quarter, if his Maiestie would be pleased to bend only his Royall Countenance. But I shall (I hope) returne and not expect to see it effected in my tyme.

I will intreat your Honor to preserue my name in the Kings memorie, not for any worthynes, but an humble desire to serue him; and that you wilbe pleased to accept of my endeauours, and esteeme mee such as I am, one that loues and Honors you, and that will pray to God, as the best expression of my affection, to encrease you in all woorthy Honor, and to blesse you with his Holy Spiritt.

P.S.—I humbly desire your Honor to doe me the fauour to thanck Sir Thomas Smyth in my behalfe, that he may fynde my gratitude in my frends.

December 1.—I remooued 4 *Course* to Ramsor,[3] wher the

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[1] A mistake for "Henry."

[2] But see note on p. 338.

[3] Ramsar, a town about 20 miles S.E. of Ajmere, on the banks of a small lake.

In the map, the route taken by the emperor has been laid down mainly from the data given in the *Túzak*. It is impossible, however,

King had left the bodyes of 100 naked men slayne in the feildes for robbery; and the Carauan at midnight departed Adsmere.

December 2.—7 *Course.*

December 3.—I rested, by reason of rayne.

December 4.—5 *Course.* I ouertooke in the way a Cammell laden with 300 mens heades sent from Candahar by the Gouernor in present to the King, that were out in rebellion.

December 5.—5 *Course.*

December 6.—4 *Course.* Wher I ouer-tooke the King at a walled towne called Todah,[1] in the best Country I saw since my landing, beeing a faire Champion, at euerie *Course* a village, the soyle fruictfull in corne, Cotten, and Cattle.

December 7.—The King remoouing, I sent for the Iesuite and Communicated with him the lettrs receiued,[2] who undertooke the Conveyance and brake open that directed to Xauier, as his sublegatt; which concerned only the recouery of goodes, prosecution of Iustice, and Constitution of the factory vnder the sayd Ihoanni Galicio, and mentioned that the Consull of the English had vndertaken to procure my assistance, and to that end had sent lettres, which I neuer saw, and thought that, notwithstanding such promise made to his Partners, hee would neyther discouer himselfe to mee nor that hee durst not to them. But finding my Countriman interessed in yt, I resolved that Galicio should repayre to Court, and furnish himselfe with what testemony he Could concerning Bonellis estate; and in requiring Iustice of the King, I would testefye with him

to identify some of the places mentioned. In a march like this the ordinary routes were avoided, and the camps were often fixed near some inconsiderable village, which, it still existing, does not appear on the map.

[1] In Jaipur state, 63 miles S.W. of Jaipur and 65 E.S.E. from Ajmere.

[2] See p. 341.

his authoritye to prosecute the Cause, and giue him all fitt assistance. To this end I caused the Iesuite to dispatch a Currier with the Particular lettres to the said Galicio and other instructions fitt, leauing the Principall to bee copyed and translated by the Padre against his arriuall.

The king Passd only from on syde of the Towne to the other; which was one of the best built I euer saw in Indya, for that ther were some howses two storyes high, and most such as a Pedler might not scorne to keepe shop in, all couered with tile. It had beene the seate of a *Raza Rasboote* before the conquest of Ecbarsha; and stoode at the foote of a great rock, very strong, had many excellent woorkes of hewed stone about yt exellently cutt, many Tanckes, arched, vawted, and discents made lardge and of great depth. By it stood a delicat groue of 2 mile long, a quarter broad, Planted by Industry with Mangoes, Tamerins, and other fruictes, deuided with walkes, and full of little Temples and alters of Pagods and Gentiliticall Idolatrye, many fountaynes, welles, tanckes, and summer howses of Carued stone, Curiously arched; so that I must confesse a banished englishman might haue beene content to dwell there. But this obseruation is generall that ruine and distruction eates vp all. For since the Proprietye of all is come to the king no man takes care for Particulars, so that in euery Place appeares the vastations and spoyles of warr without reparation.

December 8.—I receiued lettres from Adsmere that the *Cutwall* offered to turne the factors and our goodes out of the house giuen vs, which they resisted. I had not visited the king; but dispatchd a lettre to Asaph Chan for his prohibition, who was gone 3 *Course* to hunt, and a note from him would suffice. My messenger mett him on the way riding in hast to the king, but [he] desiered mee at night to come to the *Gushellchan.* Which I did, and was well vsed and entertayned; but first demanded what present I had at

my New Comming, and answeering none, hee proceeded to ordinary questions of hunting. I found his Maiestie so neere druncke (which hee finished within halfe an hower), that I had not oportunitye to moue busines to him. He sate by a fier in furres by a Tancke syde. Here I mett the Persian Embassador, who telling mee a long tale in his language, I answered in English, much to our mutuall edification; but I putt into his hand a Copy of his masters Command for the commerce of our Nations, and at parting made him vnderstand I desird a Conference.

December 9.—In the morning I sent to him, that I would visitt him according to my offer and confer vpon some busines which concernd his Master, but that hee had neglected that Ciuilitye which I expected, or, if he durst not speake with mee, I would advise the Shabas of his fashion towardes mee. He returned answer hee had beene in noe faulte, but the incomoditye of the Iourny and the forme of this kingdome had hindered him to performe that was fitt; but entreated mee to come to his tents on the morow, which curtesye he would repay whensoeuer I called him, and hee would effect any desier of myne toward his master, and in all thinges further the ametye hoped for betweene our Soueraynges.

I went to Asaph chan, and after mutuall Complementes and offering me a roome in his quarter (which I accepted off without purpose to vse yt, for that it is impossible to obserue limitts soe strictly as to avoyde quarrelles, which dayly happen about them), I desiered his warrant for the Continewance of our house in Adsmere, which hee instantly wrote and signed, and I dispeeded. I acquaynted him with the faire and Noble vsadge of his brother-in-law, the Gouernor of Cambaya,[1] which hee tooke gratefully, assuring mee that all the Ports and officers in

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[1] See pp. 329-332.

his Maiestis dominions had order to entreat vs frendly, and to protect vs from Iniury, if wee dreew not occasion vpon ourselues by misdemeanor.

Returning I veiwed the *Leskar*, which is one of the woonders of my little experience, that I had seene yt finished and sett up in 4 howers (except some of great men that haue double prouision), the Circuitt beeing little lesse then 20 English mile, the length some wayes 3 *Course*, comprehending the skirtes; and [in?] the middle, wherin the streets are orderly, and tents Joynd', are all sorts of shopes and distinguished so by rule that euery man knowes readely were to seeke his wants, euery man of qualetye and euery trade beeing limited how farr from the kinges tentes he shall Pitch, what ground hee shall vse, and on what syde, without alteration; which as it lyes togither may equall almost any towne in Europe for greatnes. Only a muskett shoot euery way no man approcheth the *Atasckanha*[1] royall, which is now kept so strict that none are admitted but by name, and the tyme of the *Durbar* in the eueninge is omitted and spent in hunting or hawking on tanckes by boate, in which the king takes woonderfull delight, and his barges are remooued on Cartes with him, and hee sitts not but one the syde of one, which are many tymes a mile or two ouer. At the *Iarruco* in the Morning, hee is seene, but busines or speech prohibited. All is concluded at night at the *Guzelchan*, when often the tyme is preuented by a drowzines which poss[es]eth his Maiestie from the fumes of Backus.

Ther is now a great whisper in Court about a new affinitye of Sultan Corsoronne and Asaph chan, and great hope of his liberty. I will fynd occasion to discourse it, for that the Passages are very woorthy, and the wisdome and goodnes of the king appeares aboue the malice of others, and Nor-

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[1] See p. 300.

mahall fullfill[s] the obseruation that in all actions of Consequence in a Court, especially in faction, a woman is not only alwayes an ingredient, but commonly a Principall drugg and of most vertue ; and shee showes that they are not incapable of Conducting busines, nor herselfe voyd of witt and subtiltye. It will discouer a noble Prince, an excellent wife, a faythfull Counceller, a Crafty stepmother, an ambitious sonne, a Cunning fauorite: all reconciled by a Patient king, whose hart was not vnderstood by any of all these.[1] But this will requier a Place alone, and not to bee mingled amonge busines, which this day I receiued from Suratt, of extreame iniuryes offered our Nation and new broyles begunn to the hazard of our Peace ; but as they only send mee Complaynts, and deteyne the Presents which should enable mee to effect their redresse, so they mingle their owne greuances with confession of misurable misdeameanors Committed by the disorder of themselues, which noe warning of myne I see can prevent when such liberty is giuen to all saylors and base rascalls to dishonor and disquiett vs. Besides, I find not the Principall free from all blame and occasion, for by want of Iudgment and an opinion of liberty neyther granted nor fitt for them to vse, they incurr iust displeasur, and yt breakes out into fury on both sydes; for the officers as fast complayne of vs as wee of them, and desier mee to send a sober discreet man to gouerne our Nation, which I haue noe power in ; so that I cannot tell at what end to beginn. The Prince is abscent ; our enterpreter cast off ; myselfe without Presents or toong.[2]

[1] On the 30th of the preceding month Roe had written to Lord Pembroke that he hoped to reduce his observations "into a meethood, and though this kingdome almost concerne not Europe, yet the Historye may, as well as some of those that are farther remooued by tymes past, and for subiect perhaps as woorthy." It is to be regretted that he never found the time to carry out his intention.

[2] "Jaddow hath refused the wages assigned by you and in our greatest neede forsaken vs, and I am soe without any linguist that I cannot answere the King what it were a clock......The Plauge is at Agra in extreame violence, and this Iourny a worse Plauge to mee,

Yet I doubt not once more to reconcile this brawle to Content of all sydes, if they please not to it on euery occasion. This rule I euer lay: wee can neuer liue without quarrell (which ingendreth often greater strifes, and the innocent suffer indifferently with the guilty) vntill our Commanders take order that noe man come to Suratt but on Iust occasion and of Ciuill Carriage, and the Cape Merchant so moderate such as come that, for the glory of open house, they giue not liberty of excesse and drincking. For what Ciuill Town will endure a stranger by force to open in the streetes the close Chayres[1] wherin their weomen are Carried (which they take for a dishonor equall to a rauishment)? [2]

December 12.—I dispatchd the *Patamar* back for Suratt, with order to direct the expected *Caffela* to Court the shorter way. Concerning their Complaynt, I wrote to the Gouernor and Admirall to giue speedye redresse, or to expect such issue as the kings Iustice would affoord mee. Meanes to enforme the king I had none for want of our solicitor and linguist. With him I sent a lettre from the

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who, weakened by many Crosses, decay in my strength and am by fluxes vnfitt for trauell or the feildes; and, which is yet more troublesome, am sicker in mynd."—Roe to Surat, December 12, 1616 (*Addl. MS.* 6115, f. 155).

The difference with the broker seems to have been smoothed over, for Roe on the 14th sent an urgent message to him, and he rejoined him on the 24th.

[1] *Doolies.*

[2] The letters from Surat referred to will be found in the I. O. Records, under date November 18 and 20, 1616. They record several quarrels between the English and the natives. One of these was caused by a sailor "who (out of ignorance, not knowing the costom) stopped and opened a *dowled* in the street to see what it contayned, but, seing therin a woman, desisted from further wronge and lett it passe." Another, which led to a riot, personal violence to Kerridge, and a strict boycott of the factory, was due to a bell-turret which had been erected on the English house; the matter was settled by its dismantlement. Yet a third was brought about by the action of the English Admiral. Some Portuguese frigates hovering at the mouth of the river seized a native vessel laden with water-casks belonging to the English, whereupon Pepwell seized a vessel leaving Surat, which he believed to be Portuguese property. This was much resented by the natives, and the English factory was again boycotted until the prize was surrendered.

Prince Commanding his officers to Certefye by the Customers booke the debt of Zulphecarcon, which I could not procure from our owne factors.

December 14.—I sent a *Patamar* to Adsmere to hasten the Comming of Iadow.

December 15.—Master Fettiplace arriued at the *leskar* from Agra, beeing out of busines and leauing Master Shallbanck with the goodes, who determined to lock up the house and to remooue to Fettipoore[1] for the vehement rage of the Plauge, Now their next neighbowre.

December 17.—Master Fettiplace departed to Adsmere to remayne with the goodes.

December 18.—I visited the king, who having beene at his sports, and his quarry of foule and fish lyeing before him, hee desired mee to take my Choyse, and so distributed the remayner to his Nobilitye. I found him sitting on his throwne, and a begger at his feet, a poore silly ould man, all ashd, ragged, and Patched, with a young roage attending him. With these kinde of professed Poore holy men the Country aboundes, and are held in great reuerance; but for woorks of chastisment of their bodyes and voluntary sufferings they exceed the bragges of all heritiques or Idolatres. This miserable wretch, clothd in raggs, crownd with feathers, couered with ashes, his Maiestie talked with about an hower, with such familiarity and show of kindnes that it must needes argue an humilitye not found easely among kinges. The begger sate, which his[2] sonne dares not doe. Hee gaue the king a Present, a Cake, ashed, burnt on the Coales, made by himselfe of Course grayne, which the king accepted most willingly, and brake one bitt and eate yt, which a daynty mouth could scarce haue done. After hee tooke the Cloute and wrapt it vp and putt in the poore mans bosome and sent for 100 *rupees*,

[1] Fatehpur Sīkri, 23 miles west of Agra.
[2] The King's (cp. p. 419).

and with his owne handes powered them into the poore mans lap, and what fell besides gathered vp for him. When his Collation of banqueting and drinck came, whatsoeuer hee tooke to eate, hee brake and gaue the begger halfe; and after many strange humiliations and Charetyes rising, the ould wretch not beeing Nimble, hee tooke him vp in his armes, which noe Cleanly bodye durst haue touchd, embracing him; and 3 tymes laying his hand on his hart, calling him father, hee left him, and all vs, and me in admiration of such a virtue in a heathen Prince.[1] Which I mention with envye and sorrow, that wee having the true vyne should bring forth Crabbes, and a bastard stock grapes: that either our Christian Princes had this deuotion or that this Zeale were guided by a true light of the Gospell.

December 21.—I receiued from Amadavaz of their dispatches for the fleete, as full of Complaynts that they are kept in ignorance as I, and that they conveyed a Command sent by mee for their redresse to Suratt, which I doubt not will appease all troubles.

December 23.—Being short about 3 *Courses* of a Citty called Rantepoore,[2] wher it was supposed the king would rest, and consult what way to take, hee suddenly turned toward Mandoa,[3] but without declaration of any resolution; in my Iudgment rather sent that way by the feare of the Plauge in Agra, then any desire of approaching the warr,

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[1] Jahángír had a superstitious respect for devotees, and in his memoirs lays stress on the large number he had visited and relieved. As recorded later (p. 380), at Ujjain he made a special excursion to see the *Sanyási* Jadrúf; and two years after, while on his way from Ahmadábád to Agra, he repeated his visit. Coryat mentions "a custome of this King, who, sleeping in his *Gusle-can*, often when hee awakes in the night, his great men (except those that watch) being retired, cals for certaine poore and old men, making them sit by him, with many questions and familiar speeches passing the time, and at their departure cloathes them and giues them bountifull Almes, whatsoeuer they demand, telling the money into their hands" (*Purchas*, vol. i, p. 601).

[2] Ranthambhor, a fort in Jaipur state, on an isolated rock.

[3] Mandú or Mandogarh, described on p. 391.

for wee marched euery other day only about 4 *Courses*, with a baggage almost impossible to bee ordered.

December 24.—I receiued from Adsmere that the factors Continewed in their house and that our brookar Iaddow was in the way; for whose arriuall I deferred my intention of moouing the king to heare the busines of the seuerall Complaynts from Suratt; for a redresse by *firmaens* from the Prince is but momentary and scarce effectuall. Iaddow my enterpreter arriued, and wee made new contract.

December 25.—I rested.

December 26.—Wee Passed thorough woodes and over Mountayns, torne with bushes, tyred with the incomodityes of an impassible way, wher many Camells perished. Many departed for Agra, and all Complayned. I lost my Tents and Cartes, but by midnight wee mett. The king rested two dayes, for that the *leskar* could not in lesse tyme recouer their order, many of the kings woemen, and thowsandes of Coaches, Carts and Camells lyeing in the woody Mountaynes without meate and water; himselfe gott bye on a small Eliphant, which beast will Clime vp rockes and passe such streightes as noe horse nor beast that I know can follow him.

I receiued answere from Suratt full of dispute, but no certeyntye, neither of the expected Presents nor conclusion of Zulphecarcons debt, nor busines of moment. With it a lettre from Captain Pepwell much Complayning of disrespectes towardes him, of the Cape Merchanntes obstinacye, and of opening and deteyning his lettres of aduise sent to mee, his opinions of his future voyadge by want of stock, and requiring my opinions what Course to runne if enforced as a man of warr. I dispatched a Packett to Amadauaz.

December 29.—Wee sate by the riuer of Chambett.[1]

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[1] The Chambal, one of the principal tributaries of the Jumna, rises in Málwa, near Mhow, and after a north-easterly course of 650 miles flows into the main river below Etáwah.

January 1, 1616-17.—I sent to Asaph chan to acquaynt him with the Iniuries of Suratt.

January 2.—Hee promised to write to the Prince, but desiered Conference with me.

January 3.— I visited Asaph chan and propounded to him the substance of the Complaynts: the taking a Portugall frigott,[1] the reason, and the pressure of Sultan Caronns officers to deliuer back. Hee went[2] from his woord to entermeddle in the Princes Gouerment, but if I would presse him, hee would make Petition to the king; but aduised mee to waigh it well: the necessitie of the Princes fauour (which hee would vndertake was not acquaynted with this New brawle): that if I complayned I might perhapes procure some Checke to the Prince, but withall the busines would Come to examination, and our owne faultes would bee reckoned and obiected, the issue of Iudgment doubtfull, and the Prince would remayne an vnreconciled Enemy. I answered I had forethought all this, and was as unwilling to Complayntes as hee could bee, but that the desease was such as required a desperat remedy: but if in his wisdom hee would direct mee in a better Course, I was ready to follow yt. This I did because the iniuryes beeing personall, they were recanted and reconciled, and my aduertisementes were soe in and out that I knew not whether they wished accusation or no, and wee [were ?] mingled not only with confusions [confessions ?] of our owne misdemeanors, but with intimations of greater layed to their Chardge, which, though denyed, yet they feared would bee iustifyed by periury, a small faulte among moores. Asaph chan replyed hee was very glad to see mee inclinable to a quiett way; and though hee would not write, yet hee thus aduised: That for the boate and goodes taken

[1] See note on p. 365.
[2] Probably we should read: "He said that he went."

wee should keepe her, for the Portugals having begunn the Iniury, it was reason wee should requite it, and no exception should bee taken at it; the Couetousnes of the Princes officers for some bribe was the reason of the remanding it, not any fauour to them;[1] for the Complayntes hee wished mee to stay vntill the Presents arriued, and at their deliuerie to the king to aske leaue to goe to Brampoore to visitt the Prinnce, and, without mentioning particular offences, craue his lettre in generall tearmes to Command his sonne to receiue mee, to heare mee in what soeuer I desired, and to doe Iustice to our Nation, suffering none to doe them force, and to grant what farther Priuiledges I should fittly propound; which lettre hee would procure, and such a Course would signifie my respect to the Prince, to whom I should, with some fitt present, deliuer a breefe of all Complaynts; and having procured such Iustice as I desired and settled my busines with him, I might returne to Court in double grace, and hee would write with mee to procure me Content. This Councell was such as I had taken before in myne owne Purpose with little difference, and such as necessitye showed mee to bee the right way; for I had experience by a Portugall what issue of Complayntes against the Prince would follow, formall remedy but full reuenge; and seeing it was necessarie that I must visitt him, I was loath to exasperat him against my wellcome, and I found that if my occasions would haue permitted mee to giue all my attendance and respect to him, *delinire ambitiosum*, I should easiely Compasse him; so that I resolued to spare him as much as I could, and by myne owne trauell ouercum that I could not doe by opposition, and thus sett forward my purpose; that the king was declared for Mandoa and the Nobilitye sent all in hast to build, which beeing but 8 dayes from Brampoore, it was

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[1] The Portuguese.

as good as to sitt in the feildes, and in that tyme I might prouide a house by the kinges fauour or buyld it if Constrayned.

At Noone I visited the Persian Ambassador, beeing the first tyme eyther of our leysurs would permitt yt. Hee receeued mee with great respect and Curtesy. After Complementes, I generally propounded the settling of a trade, the conditions wee required, the Comoditye to his Master, and our forwardnes in sending a ship this year to Iasques vpon his Masters *firmaen*. Hee answered mee that his king greatly affected the comming of the Christians, especially the English, but that Shirly was now sent to make offer of the Portes to Spayne.[1] But vnderstanding from mee some inconveniences, wee resolued to dispeed a Post to the Shabas, and hee required mee to propound my desiers in writing, and hee would send them his Master, as well to procure the salles of the Cloth now landed as to prouide in future for a fitt Cargazon and residence on both Parts. Hee made mee a banquett of ill fruictes, but beeing a good fellow it appeared well. In his Curtesyes hee exceeded all my entertaynment in India, rayled at the Court, at the kinges officers and Councell, and vsd a strange libertye. I answered that I meddled [not ?] in cencure of other mens busines: I desired to effect myne owne. Hee offered to bee my linguist, desiered mee to Pitch my tentes by him, and whateuer I would propound to the king hee would deliuer, assuring mee the king had diuers tymes made honorable mention of mee, and expressed a desire to giue mee all content. I seemed to accept of these fauours, but suddenly knew not howe to trust them, but determined to Consider it, for it appeard a faire way and

[1] The Ambassador added that, with a view to provide for the due reception of any English ships that might arrive, the Sháh had sent a governor to Jáshak "to re-edefie the Castell, which hath beene long a neglected place" (Roe to Kerridge, January 5, 1617); but this seems to have been a polite fiction.

a harty motion. From hence hee proceeded to some vanetyes of his Masters purpose to take Aleppo, that hee had Conquered Babilon, and as his aduises came hee would send them mee; and desired mee to mention him to my Soueraigne in my Next lettres and in these to his Master. The Conclusion of busines betweene vs is included in my aduise to Kerridge in prosecution of his designe[1] and in the demandes to the Shabas, which was the substance agreed on in this Conference. At my departur hee offered mee with much earnestnes a faire horse well furnished, which was brought to the doore, but I was as bountifull in refusing. Hee pressd mee the earnester, but not prevayling sent for 9 Peices of Persian stuffes, silke, and 9 bottles of wyne, that I might not depart without some testemony of his loue. I answered to effect my desiers with his Master should bee the only Pledges I would accept, wherin hee should do mee most frendship and him most seruice and honor: that I acknowledged his magnificence by his offers, but hee should not beginn a frendship at such cost: I could exchange a good hart, but had nothing, beeing a stranger, to requite Curtesye of that Nature. Hee looking earnestly vpon my swoord, I offered it, but hee by example refused it. At night I visited the king, who spent his tyme sadly with an ould man after reading long lettres, and few spake to him. At his rising, he gaue this gentellman that sate by him, a Criple for age, 5,000 *rupees*, and with many embracementes tooke his leaue. Passing by, hee bowed to mee. The Persian Ambassador mett here, where renewing Complements, and repenting that hee refused my swoord which hee fancied, hee fayerly beggd it, professing that liberty among frendes was good manners in his Countrye.

January 4.—I sent my swoord.[2]

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[1] See *Addl. MS.* 6115, f. 160.

[2] Value five pounds (Roe's Accounts).

January 5.—I dispeeded answere to Suratt with my aduise and conference with the Persian Ambassador, and his opinion, and to Adsmere what I conceiued fitt for the disposure of that factory.

January 6.—I translated the Articles to send the Shabas, according to conclusion. Coppyes of all are regestred.[1]

January 7.—These dayes were Consumed on the way, euery other remoouing about 4 or 5 *Courses*. Wee sate on the goodly riuer of Shynd.[2]

January 8.—I dispeeded the Articles to the king of Persia with lettres to Robbyns, by a Currier of the Embassador, and sent Coppyes.

To William Robbins at Ispahan.

(*Addl. MS.* 6115, f. 166.)[3]

17 January 1616 [-17].

. . . Breefly our desier is, first, that a Port bee secured by the King, free for vs alone or for all indifferently, wher wee may land our goodes, and such prioeledges granted to vs as in such cases are requisite; and next, that some agrement bee made and sett of Prices indifferently on both sides, according to the Condition of the Comodityes; lastly, that his Maiestie Command his silkes to bee brought downe yearly, at the seazon, to the Port (which is easier then the way of Aleppo), or to some indifferent Citty, not far vp, wher our factors may Constantly and securely reside for a staple Mart, as at Stoade or Middleborough,[4] that wee bee not enforced to seeke and trauell to vnprofitable Marketts. A trade thus settled wilbe dureable, and by Continuance increase, wheras shuffling and vnstable Courses one syde will relinquish by incomoditye. To this Purpose, and to showe our forwardnes, wee

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[1] See *Addl. MS.* 6115, ff. 159-163, 166, 211. The articles have not been reproduced, as they are sufficiently summarised in the letter to Robbins. As will be seen later, they never reached the Sháh.

[2] The Kali Sind, a branch of the Chambal.

[3] There is another copy in the I. O. Records (*O.C.*, No. 434), endorsed as received March 5 (at Ispahan ?) and in London, by way of Aleppo and Marseilles, November 26, 1617. The date of the letter is clearly wrong, though it appears in both copies. Probably the 7th is intended (see p. 405, where Roe says that the letter was actually despatched on the 10th).

[4] Stade, on the western bank of the Elbe; Middelburg, in the island of Walcheren.

haue now sent a ship to Jasques, to vnlade Cloth and other goodes, with our factors to attend the Pleasure of his Maiestie; and though the Comoditye bee not in quantety nor qualety such as may giue the King any great encouragement, yet hee shall see our desiers and will not judge vs by this beginning, for that wee Came not Purposely for the Place, but to trye and settle our enterteynment. To this end I haue sent his Maiestie articles firmed by mee and Commended by his Embassador, which if you will sollicite, that the Cloth may bee taken off, and, for the future, a Certeyne Course and residence dessigned, and a *firmaen* both what sortes and quantetyes of Goodes, eyther of Europe, India, Chyna, or the South Islandes, his Maiestie will require, wee will then roundly and duly fullfill his desire, that hee shall find the Profitt in his owne Coffers and in the weakening his greatest enemy. If this cannot bee effected, it is not woorth labor; wee shall both deceiue and bee deceiued. For wee ayme not at gnatts and small flyes, but at a Commerce Honorable and Equall to two so mighty Nations. You shall doe your Countrie good seruice to acquaynt his Maiestie freely with this Motion; open his eies, that hee bee not blynded with the smoky ayer of Spanish greatnes . . . Deale in this Clearly and substancially, and beleeue not that a trade will euer proceede that is not at first settled vpon vnderstanding groundes; and if you in your judgment and experience fynd that these conditions will not bee agreed too, the Next best seruice you can doe is to assure the King wee will not come like Peddlears, and to aduice vs, that wee spend no more tyme and trauell in vayne . . . I shall not abyde in these Partes (I hope) to see any great issue; for in December 1617 I expect to turne my face homeward, vnlesse I be commanded by his Maiestie my lord and soueragne to visitt the Shabas, which if it so happen, I will acquaynt him not only with the affection and Power of my master to bee his frend, but with many things that are woorthy to bee knowne to so braue a Prince, wherin hee is yet vnexcersiced, and expresse more fully my Particular desire to doe him seruice. . . .

January 9.—Jaddow, finding by the Invoyce small hope of sales, Picked a quarrell that hee wanted water at midnight, and without taking leaue forsooke mee. Soe that I resolued to bee noe longer tyed to the seruitude of such a villayne, who had so often Notoriously abusd vs ; but dispeeded a *Pattamar* to Adsmere to procure the Comming of a Greeke that spake excellent language to supply my vse on the way, and to sollicite my determinations at the Comming of the Presentes, and to assist Master Bidolph in the

Companyes busines, hee propounding him as the fittest man in India; but I purposed only to serue my vse on him, and to proue him or to dismisse him so soone as I was settled. But for feare of his refusall or to bee destitute, I wrote to Master Shalbanck to practise with Jaffer, the brokar in Agra, to Come downe and supply the Place, resoluing soe to gett him into my Power to answere the accusations laid by Jaddow that hee should deceiue the factors of Agra in investments betweene 2 and 3000 *rupees*, which hee yet offered to Iustefy to Master Bidolph.

January 14.—I receiued from Agra that the Plauge[1] was fallen to 100 a day, and great hope of the Clearing of the Towne: that Indico was like to bee at indifferent rates, and if mony Could bee fitted in tyme, that all the Cloth in barter might bee putt off; which lettres I answered perswading to Putt it in Practice by the debtes made and billes sent vp to the Creditors residing there.

January 16.—I sent a *Patamar* expresse to Suratt, hearing nothing of the Presentes nor *Cafala*, to require a resolution and to convay the Packettes of Adsmere, which found now no Passadge thence.

January 18.—The king Passed betweene two Mountaynes, having Cutt the way thorough the woodes, but with soe much trouble and inconvenience to the baggage that it was left behind.[2] Without any refreshing, I found my Tents by Midnight, having taken vp my lodging first vnder a tree. This Countrie is full of theeues, and not in perfect obedience

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[1] See p. 307.

[2] "I am yet followeing this wandering King ouer Mountaynes and thorough woodes, so strange and vnvsed wayes that his owne People, who almost know no other God, blaspheame his Name and hers that, it is sayd, Conductes all his actions."—Roe to Smythe, January 16, 1617 (*Addl. MS.* 6115, f. 164).

The gorge here mentioned seems to be the pass of Mukandwárá, memorable in later years in connection with Colonel Monson's retreat. A description of the pass and its beautiful scenery will be found in Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. ii, p. 643.

but as they are kept by force. It belonges to a *Raja* that desiers not to see the king. *Haud facile libertus*[1] *et domini miscentur.* The exactor Complaynd, and some few of the People that fled, beeing taken and Chayned by the Neckes, were Presented the king; the strongest keept the Mountaynes. At night, the king fired the Towne by which hee sate, and appoynted a New gouernor to the quarter to reedefye and repeople it and reduce it to Ciuilitie. Hee left him some horse to effect it; *nam neque quies gentium sine armis, neque arma sine stipendiis, neque stipendia sine tributis, haberi queant.*[2]

January 20.—The Banditi fled into the woodes, in reuenge of their towne, sett vpon a Company of stragglers behind, slew diuers, and robbd them.

January 22.—I receiued from Brampoore by Master Banghams aduise of the safe Passadge of the Agra *Cafala* and their goodes, but noe newes from Suratt; hee professing to haue sent 5 expresse *Patamars*, who were deteyned, and in two monthes hee hard not any aduise, hauing mony in Cash vnbestowed, to the Companyes losse and his greife. This made me desperat of the Presents expected, and resolued at night to visitt the king to obserue what Countenance he would show mee, or to giue occasion to aske after them. When I Came, I found him sate in a New order, so that I was to seeke what Place to Choose, loth to mingle with his great ones (which was offered), and doubted to goe into the roome where hee sate, beeing Cutt downe the bancke of a riuer and none neare him but Etimon Dowlett, his father-in-law, Asaph chan and 3 or 4 others. Soe I went to the brimme and stood alone. Hee obserued mee and lett mee stay a while, and so smiling called mee in

[1] *Libertas* is the reading of the original (Tacitus, *Hist.*, iv, 64)—"Liberty and Lords go not well together."

[2] "For neither can the tranquillity of nations be obtained without armies, nor armies without pay, nor pay without taxes:"—*Ibid.*, iv, 74. The last word of the quotation should be "queunt."

and with his hand directed mee to stand by him, a fauour so vnusuall that it both gaue mee some Content and much Grace, which I instantly found in others vsadge. Hee prouoked mee too talke, and I calling for an interpreter hee refused it and pressed mee to vse such woordes as in Persian I had. Our discourse had not much sence nor dependance, but hee tooke it well, and with much curtesy demonstrated a good opinion.

January 23.—I returned answere to Brampoore.

January 24.—Newes arriuing at Court that the Decans would not bee frighted out of their dominion (which Asaph chan and Normahall had pretended to procure this voyadge), but that they had sent their impediments into the hart, and attended in the borders with 50,000 horse resolued to fight, and that Sultan Coronne was yet aduanced no farther then Mandoa, afraid both of the Enemie and *Chan Channa*, these Councellors changed their aduise, and declaring to the king that they conceiued the Decan before his Passadge ouer the last hills would haue yeilded by the Terror of his approach, but finding the Contrary, perswaded him to Convert it to a hunting Iourny, and to turne his face toward Agra, for that the other was not an Enemie woorthy his Person. Hee replyed this Consideration came too late: his Honour was ingaged: seeing hee had so farr Passd, hee would prosecute their first councells and his Purpose, and aduenture the hazardes of both. But hee dayly dispeeded fresh troupes toward his sonne, partly from his owne, the rest Commanded from Gouermentes, according to report 30,000 horse, but not by Muster.

January 28.—I receiued from Suratt that the Presents and goodes for Court were dispeeded the second of this month, and that if the Prince (which I feared) intercepted them not, I might expect them by the 10th of Feabruary.[1]

[1] The presents were in the charge of the Reverend Edward Terry, who, as already related (p. 246), had been chosen to fill Hall's place as

This late Newes yet refreshed mee, who was soe weary of an Idle Iourney that I had some hope to gett liberty to goe before and to dispatch at Brampoore with the Prince according to a Promise and a resolution taken, and the Necessitye of our busines exacting that respect too him ; so I attended in Patience and expectation.

January 29.—The *Patamar* I returned with a Packett to Suratt. At night arriued Diego Lopo, the Greeke, from Adsmere, with Master Fettiplace lettres of his endeauoring Carridg to remooue the goodes for Agra ; of whom I purposed to make vse during my Necessitie if I found him fitt for employment, for Jaddow in all this tyme neuer offered so much as to visitt mee, and I resolued neuer to vse him. Water is become very scarce, and though our *leskar* be halfe lessened, yet passing many dayes thorough a Country wher the People were guilty of some disobedience, and for feare forsaking the villadges with their Prouisions, grayne and all other necessaries became soe deare, and the mony so abased by want of *Pice*, that I was at double Chardge of expence. The king, who feeles it not, takes no order. His *Channs* are Followed with their owne prouision and so enforme not. The strangers, the souldier, and the Poore only, as woorst able, endure the burthen. Euery other day the king remooued 3, 4, or 5 *Course*. Short yet of Mandoa, 60.

January 30-*February* 2.—Euery other day 4 *Course*.

February 3.—Departing out of the Rode of the *Leskar* for ease and shade, and resting vnder a tree for the same Comodityes, came vpon mee Sultan Corsoronne, the kings eldest restrayned sonne, riding vpon an Eliphant, with no great Guard nor attendance. His People desired mee to

chaplain to the ambassador. He was instructed by Kerridge to give Roe timely notice of his approach, and, if the Prince interfered, he was to invoke the assistance of Afzal Khán (*Surat Letterbook*, f. 142).

giue him roome, which I did, but attended to see him, who called for mee, and with some gentle and familiar questions, full of Curtesye and affability, hee departed. His Person is good and Countenance Cherfull, his beard growne to his girdle. This only I Noted, that his questions showed ignorance of all Passadges in Court, in so much he neuer heard of any Ambassador nor English.[1]

February 4 *and* 5.—Wee rested not.

February 6.—At night wee came to a little Tower newly repayred, wher the king Pitched in a Plesant Place vpon the Riuer of Sepra, short of Vgen,[2] the Cheefe Citty of Malwa, one *Course*. This Place, called Calleada,[3] was an-

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[1] Terry (p. 431) gives the following account of an interview between Roe and the Prince. Although Terry speaks as if he had been present, and Roe is represented as having been at the Court for two years, it seems to refer to the present occasion. "Once he called my Lord Ambassadour to him as we passed by him, asking him many questions, as how far distant our Country was from them, and what we brought thither, what we carried thence, and how the King his father had used him since his arrive there; whither or no he had not bestowed on him some great gifts? The Ambassadour told him that his business there was to obtain a free trade for his Nation the English; and that being granted him, he had reward enough. The Prince replyed that this could not be denyed us, we coming so far to trade there with him; and the Prince further asked him how long he had been there; the Ambassadour told him about two years; the Prince replyed again, that it was a very great shame for the successor of Tamberlane, who had such infinite Rules, to suffer a man of his quality to come so far unto him, and to live so long about him, and not to give him some Royall gift; and he further added, that for himself he was a Prisoner, and therefore could do him no good, but he would pray for him; and so he departed."

[2] Ujjain, on the River Sipra.

[3] Kaliyáda, about four miles north of the present city of Ujjain. It is described as an ancient palace, built on an island in the Sipra, and consisting of two square buildings, each covered by a cupola; a bridge connects the island with the mainland, and below the bridge are several apartments on a level with the water; the rocky bed of the river is cut into channels of various regular forms, such as spirals, squares, circles, etc., and the whole place formed a very cool and attractive retreat for the hot weather (Hunter's *Narrative of a Journey from Agra to Ujjain*, in *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vi; see also *The Oriental Repertory*, vol. vi, p. 266).

The building was erected by one of the Ghori kings of Malwa, named Nasír-ud-dín (1500-12), the story of whose death is here related. The same tale, but with a few variations, is given in Jahángír's Memoirs

ciently a seat of the Gentile kinges of Mandoa, one wherof was there drowned in his drinck, having once before fallen into the riuer, and taken vp by the hayre of the head by a slaue that diued; and beeing come to himselfe it was related to him to procure a reward. Hee Called for the instrument of his safety, and demanding how he durst Putt his handes on his Soueraygnes head, caused them to bee stricken off. Not long after, sitting alone with his wife in drunkennes, hee had the same Chance to slipp into the water, but so that shee might easely haue saued him, which shee did not; and beeing demanded why, shee replyed shee knew not whither he also would Cutt of her handes for her recompence.

February 8.—Wee rested.

February 10.—Wee remooued to a *Course* beyond Vgen.

February 11.—The king rode to Vgen to speake with a *Deruis* or Saynt living on a hill, who is reported to bee 300 yeares ould.[1] I thought this Miracle not woorthy my examination.

At noone by a foote Post I receiued that the Prince, notwithstanding all *firmaens* and Commandes of his father, had entercepted the Presents and goodes sent vp, to fullfill his base and greedy desier, and that notwithstanding any guift nor entreaty or Perswasions of Master Terry, to whose

(see Elliot and Dowson's *History*, vol. vi, p. 350). As Ferishta tells the story (*History of the Deccan*, Briggs' translation, vol. iv, p. 242), the king, while intoxicated, slipped into a tank, and was rescued by four of his women, who changed his wet clothes without his perceiving it. On awakening from his stupor, he complained of headache, and was thereupon told that he had been so drunk that he had fallen into the water. Enraged at what he thought (from the state of his clothing) to be a lie, and supposing them to be reproaching him for his inebriety, he put them all to death, in spite of their protests. But he did not die himself till many years after, and then of a fever.

[1] In his Memoirs the emperor relates this visit at great length. It was paid to a *Sanyási* (ascetic) of the name of Murtázi Jadrúf, "who had retired many years ago from Ujjain to a corner of the desert to worship the true God" (Mr. Rogers' translation of the *Túzak*). The "corner of the desert" appears to have been among the ruins of the ancient city of Ujjain.

Chardge they were Comitted, would not part with them, but by force Compelld them to returne with him toward Brampoore ; yet hee forbeare to breake any thing open, but pressed the English to Consent, which they refusing by my order, hee thought to wynn them by vexation. Such is the Custome to see all Merchanntes goodes, eauen before the king, that hee may first Choose ; but I resolued to breake yt in our behalfe. The Prince to satisfie his desire, before I could haue knowledg, he sent a Post to the king to certifye him that such goodes hee had stayed, without mention of Presentes and Prayed leaue to open them, and to buy what hee fancyed. So soone as I heard of this faithlesse vniust vsadge, I resolued I was Iustifiable before all the world, if I vsed the extreamety of Complayntes ; that I had practised all meanes to wynne and Purchase fauour, and had suffered beyond the Patience of a free man, my former Courses will wittnes, and leaue mee without blame in ill successes, though I found it in a rougher way, seeing I could fynd no better in the smoothest. Breefly, I resolued to appeale to Iustice by Complaynt, but as Calmely and warely as I Could, to expresse my wholle greiffe, extreame iniuryes, and long Patience. To goe to Asaph chan (though to neglect him would displease him) yet to trye him I feared would preuent my Purpose. To send to him that I desiered to visitt the king at the *Guzel-chan*, I doubted what I entended might bee suspected if hee had heard of the Iniurye ; so I practised first to avoyd preuention. The Prophett whom the king visited offered mee occasion, and my new linguist was ready. I rode and mett his Maiestie on his Eliphant and allighted, making signe to speake. Hee turned his Monster to mee, and Preuented mee : My sonne hath taken your goodes and my Presents : bee not sadd, hee shall not touch nor open a seale, nor lock : at night I will send him a Command to free them ; with other very Gratious speeches that hee

knew I came full of Complaynt, to ease mee hee begann first. Vpon the way I could doe noe more; but at night, without farther seeking to Asaph chan, I went to the *Guzelchan*, resolued to prosecute the Complaynt of forceing back our goodes in respect of the Chardg and trouble, of the abuses of Suratt and all our other greeuances. Soe soone as I came in, the king called my interpreter and deliuered by his [means?] that hee had written and sent his Command very effectually that not a hayre should be deminished. I replyed the iniury was such, and the Chardge and abuses of our liberty by the Princes officers, that I desired redresse, for that wee could not longer suffer. It was answered what was Past I must remitt to his sonne; but by Asaph chans mediation I could procure Nothing but very good woordes, for hee smoothd on both sides. Soe that I was forced to seeme Content, and to seeke an oportunitye in the absence of that my falce frend and procurator. The good king fell to dispute of the lawes of Moses, Jesus and Mahomett; and in drinck was so kinde that hee turned to mee, and said: Am I a king? You shalbe wellcome: Christians, Moores, Iewes, hee meddled not with their faith: they Came all in loue and hee would protect them from wrong: they liued vnder his safety and none should oppresse them; and this often repeated; but in extreame drunkennes hee fell to weeping and to diuers Passions, and soe kept vs till midnight.

Iudg all men what trauell I endured by reason the factors kept my Presentes 4 monthes and sent them eauen in the Mouth of the Prince, arriued within two dayes of Brampoore; and hereby euery way our Chardg doubled. Yet I rested not satisfied, but seeing I had begunn and that the Prince was, as I feared, enough exasperated with a little, I thought as good Loose him to some Purpose as to none; at least to trie the king what hee would doe. Soe I wayted advantage, but sent back the Messenger to

Master Terry to stand out and attend the kinges answere, which I would speedely send him.

This Iournall from this 11th february, 1616[-17] *is posted into another booke*[1] *for want of roome.*

THE JOURNAL CONTINUED FROM "PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES" (VOL. I, P. 564).

And so resolued to dissemble that I hope to repay.[2] When I came, with base flattery worse then the theft, or at least to giue me some satisfaction, because trouble was

[1] Which unfortunately can nowhere be found; and henceforward we are dependent on Purchas's meagre extracts, together with such letters as have escaped destruction.

[2] As Purchas commences this entry in the middle of a sentence and gives no date, it may be surmised that some leaves were missing from the MS. he used. The date it is impossible to supply, though it must have been in the latter half of February. Terry says their journey from Surat to Roe's camp lasted until the end of March, but he was evidently mistaken in the month.

Some particulars of the seizure of the presents and their subsequent release are given in the following extracts :—

"We were violently deteined in our journey by Sultan Caroon, the Prince, whom we met in his march towards Brampore, and a very marvelous great retinue with him. The reason why he interrupted us in our course was that he might see the presents we had for his Father the King ; but, we having command from the Ambassador to tell him that we durst not open them till we came to the King, we most humbly craved his pardon to spare us in that. So, presenting him with a pair of Rich Gloves (though they be things they wear not in those hot Countryes) and a rich embrodered bag for perfume (which amongst many other things of the like kinde were brought from England to be given away for presents), after that he had carried us back three dayes journey, he let us go, taking further order for our safe Convoy." —Terry's *Voyage*, p. 194.

"The Prince seazed all the Presentes and goodes and tooke them into his tentes, forcing back their attendantes, but opened Nothing ; which Newes arriuing, I would not conscent hee should search myne for the example ; and though it were reasonable to giue leaue to buy, yet, noe Merchant beeing present, and the goodes sent vp vnder the Name of supply to the Court factory so base, so vnwoorthy of the honor of the Company that I thought it would redound to much scorne to diuulge their qualety. I desired the Kings lettre, which with many gratious additions hee gaue, and all was dispeeded after long stay and much expence. When they came neare, the King beeing gone Priuatly ahunting, and my selfe in the *leskar*, the Prince's *Haddy* [*ahadi*, a soldier of the body-guard], whom he sent

in my face (for otherwise it is no iniury heere to bee so vsed), he beganne to tell me he had taken diuers things that please[d] him extreamely well, naming two Cushions embroydered, a folding Glasse, and the Dogges, and desired mee not to bee discontent, for whatsoeuer I would not giue him, I should receiue backe. I answered: there were few things that I entended not to present him, but that I tooke it a great discourtesie to my Soueraigne, which I could not answere, to haue that was freely giuen seazed, and not deliuered by my hands, to whom they were directed: and that some of them were entended for the Prince and Normahall, some to lye by me, on occasions to prepare his Maiesties fauour to protect vs from iniuries that strangers were daily offered, and some for my friends or priuate vse, and some that were the Merchants, which I had not to doe withall. He answered that I should not be sad nor grieued that hee had his choyce, for that hee had not patience to forbeare seeing them: hee did mee no wrong in it, for hee thought I wished him first serued: and to my Lord the King of England hee would make satisfaction, and my excuse: the Prince, Normahall and he were all one: and for any to bring with me to procure his fauour, it was a

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with Command to carry all to the King, betrayed mee; and though I gott the Merchantes goodes deliuered to Master Biddolph, yet in the night hee stole away myne and carried them to the King as Presentes, who opened and tooke all that liked him. Next day I came and hee made many excuses, offering mee restitution, but yet I cannot gett yt: and for some amendes hee promiseth his lettres for redresse of abuses. But I neuer sawe what came vp, nor haue any thing for the Prince, except it bee returned; so that this yeare I am barer handed then the last. All that I can vrdge is answered with such Promises, and, if they succeed, I am happely robbd."—Roe to Surat, March 10, 1617 (*Addl. MS.* 6115, f. 175).

From other letters of Roe's it appears that when the goods and presents reached the camp, the king was four *kos* away, hunting. The officer in charge at once rode to report to him, "whose haste called for them and mee; but the Messengers at midnight carried all away, and his Majestie opened them and tooke euery thing before my arriuall." Next day Roe reached the king's headquarters, and the interview here described took place.

THE REV. EDWARD TERRY.
(*from his "Voyage to East India"*).

ceremony and vnnecessary, for he would at all times heare me: that I should be welcome emptie handed, for that was not my fault, and I should receiue right from him: and to go to his sonne, he would returne me somewhat for him, and for the Merchants goods pay to their content; concluding I should not be angry for this freedome: he entended well. I made no reply. Then hee pressed me whether I was pleased or no. I answered: His Maiesties content pleased me. So seeing Master Terry, whom I brought in with me, he called to him: Padre, you are very welcome, and this house is yours, esteeme it so: whensoeuer you desire to come to me, it shall bee free for you, and whatsoeuer you will require of mee, I will grant you.[1] Then he conuerted himselfe with this cunning vnto me, naming all particulars in order: The Dogges,[2] Cushions, Barbers

[1] Terry's account of the incident (p. 440) is as follows: "When I was first there brought into the presence of the Mogol, immediatly after my arrive at his Court, I standing near the Ambassadour (for no man there of the greatest quality whatsoever is at any time suffered to sit in his presence) and but a little distance from that King in his *Gozulcan*, he sent one of his Grandees to me, to let me know that the King bad me welcome thither: that I should have a free access to him whenever I pleased: and if I would ask him any thing he would give it me (though I never did ask, nor he give). And very many times afterward when, waiting on my Lord Ambassadour, I appeared before him, he would still shew tokens of Civility and respect to me."

[2] "That year I went for East India, the Merchants here (as from the King of England, in whose name they sent all their presents) amongst many other things, then sent the Mogol some great English Mastives, and some large Irish Grey-hounds, in all to the number of eight, dispersed in our severall ships. . . . . Only two of the Mastives cam alive to East India, and they were carried up, each of them drawn in a little Coach, when I went up to the Embassador, that he might present them to the Mogol. The fiercest of these two, in our way thither, upon a time breaking loose, fell upon a very large Elephant that was hard by us, fastening his teeth in the Elephants Trunk, and kept his hold there a good while, which made that huge beast extremely to roare; and though the Elephant did swing the Mastive up and down above ground many times (as not feeling his weight) that he might throw him off, yet he could not suddenly do it; but at last freeing himself from the dog, by throwing him a good space from him, there came a Mungrill Curr of that Countrey towards our Mastive, who then lost [left?] this his most unequal match, fell upon that dog and kild him, by which means we recovered our Mastive again into our custody, he not having received any apparent

case, you will not desire to haue backe, for that I am delighted in them? I answered: No. Then, said he, there were two Glasse chestes: for they were very meane and ordinary, for whom came they? I replyed: I entended one for his Maiestie, the other to Normahall. Why then, said hee, you will not aske that I haue, being contented with one? I was forced to yeeld. Next he demanded whose the Hats were, for that his women liked them. I answered: Three were sent to his Maiestie: the fourth was mine to wear. Then, said he, you will not take them from me, for I like them, and yours I will returne if you need it, and will not bestow that on me; which I could not refuse. Then next he demanded whose the Pictures were. I answered: Sent to me to vse on occasions, and dispose as my businesse required. So hee called for them, and caused them to be opened, examined me of the women,[1] and other little questions, requiring many iudgements of them. Of the third Picture, of Venus and a Satyre, he commanded my Interpreter not to tell me what he said, but asked his Lords what they conceiued should be the interpretation or morall of that. He shewed the Satyres hornes, his skinne, which was swart, and pointed to many particulars. Euery man replyed according to his fancie; but in the end hee concluded they were all deceiued: and seeing they could iudge no better, hee would keepe his conceit to himselfe, iterating his command to conceale this passage from me;

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hurts. . . . . This storie pleased the Mogol very much when the dogs were presented to him, and he allowed each of them four attendants of those Natives to wait upon them, who by turnes two and two together carried them up and down with him in *palankees*, to which they were tyed, and the other two went by them, fanning the flyes from off them; and the King caused a pair of silver tongs to be made on purpose that with them, when he pleased, he might feed those dogs with his own hand."—Terry, p. 149.

[1] The Lady Montague [wife of Sir Henry Montague, afterwards Earl of Manchester], and the Lady Molyneux [probably Frances, daughter of Sir Gilbert Gerard, and wife of Sir Richard Molyneux] (Kerridge to Roe, December 12, 1616.—*Surat Letterbook*).

but bade him aske me what it meant. I answered: An Inuention of the Painter to shew his arte, which was Poeticall, but the interpretation was New to mee that had not seene it. Then he called Master Terry to giue his iudgement, who replying hee knew not, the King demanded why hee brought vp to him an inuention wherein hee was ignorant; at which I enterposed that he was a Preacher, and medled not with such matters, nor had charge of them; onely, comming in their company, hee was more noted, and so named as their conductor.

This I repeate for instruction, to warne the company and him that shall succeed me to be very wary what they send may be subject to ill Interpretation;[1] for in that point this King and people are very pregnant and scrupulous, full of iealousie and trickes. For that, notwithstanding the King conceited himselfe, yet by the passages I will deliuer my opinion of this conceit, which (knowing I had neuer seene the Picture, and by Ignorance was guiltlesse) hee would not presse hard vpon me; but I suppose he vnderstood the Morall to be a scorne of Asiatiques, whom the naked Satyre represented, and was of the same complexion, and not vnlike; who, being held by Venus, a white woman, by the Nose, it seemed that shee led him Captiue. Yet he reuealed no discontent, but rould them vp, and told me he would accept him also as a Present: for the Saddle and some other small Toyes, he would fit me with a gift to his Sonne, to whom he would write according to promise, so effectually that I should need no Sollicitor in many [my ?] businesses; with as many complements, excuses, professions and protestations as could come from any very Noble or very base minde in either extreame. Yet he left

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[1] The Company sent out many allegorical pictures. Amongst those brought by Roe was one "expressing our government," which seems a difficult subject for a painter.

not, but enquired what meant the figures of the beasts,[1] and whether they were sent me to giue to him. I had vnderstood they were very ridiculous and ill shaped ordinary creatures, the varnish off, and no beauty other then a lumpe of wood. I was really ashamed, and answered: It was not my fault: those that seized them must beare the affront: but that they were not entended to him, but sent to shew the formes of certaine beasts with vs. He replyed quickly: Did you thinke in England that a Horse and a Bull was strange to mee? I replyed: I thought not of so meane a matter: the sender was an ordinary man in good will to mee for Toyes, and what he thought, I knew not. Well, said the King, I will keepe them, and onely desire you to helpe me to a horse of the greatest size: it is all I will expect, and a Male and Female of Mastiffes, and the tall Irish Grey-hounds, and such other Dogges as hunt in your lands; and if you will promise me this, I will giue you the word of a King, I will fully recompence you, and grant you all your desires. I answered: I would promise to prouide them, but could not warrant their liues, and if they dyed by the way, onely for my discharge, their skinnes and bones should bee preserued. Hee gaue extraordinary Bowes, layd his hand on his heart, and such kind of gestures as all men will witnesse he neuer vsed to any man, nor such familiarity, nor freedome, nor profession of loue. This was all my recompence, that he often desired my content to be merry: that the wrong he had done me he would royally requite, and send me home to my Countrey with grace and reward like a Gentleman. But seeing no-

[1] These were six carved figures of a lion, buck, horse, greyhound, bull and talbot (a species of dog noted for quickness of scent), and had cost 57*s.* each (*Surat Letterbook*, f. 138). Mukarrab Khán's list of goods suitable for presentation to the King (sent home by Downton in 1614) included "any figures of beasts, birds, or other similes made of glass, of hard plaster, of silver, brass, wood, iron, stone or ivory" (*Letters Received*, vol. ii, p. 173); and probably the models referred to had been sent in consequence of this suggestion.

thing returned of what was seized, but words, I desired his Maiesty to deliuer backe the Veluets and Silkes, being Merchants goods: that they were sent vp among mine by his Maiesties command, for that by that pretence they escaped the rauine of the Princes Officers. So hee gaue order to call Master Biddolph to agree with him, and to pay for them to content. Then I deliuered a Letter I had ready written, contayning my desire for Priuiledges and Iustice; otherwise, I should returne as a Fayzneane[1] and disgraced to my Soueraigne; and desired some Iustice for Sulpheckarkons Debt lately dead. He replyed he would take such order with his Sonne for Surat as I should haue no cause to complaine, and that he should cleere it; for which he gaue instant order. For other places, he would giue me his commands, and euery way shew how much he loued me: and, to the end I might returne to my Master with honour, Hee would send by me a rich and worthy Present, with his Letter of my behauiour filled with many prayses; and commanded me to name what I thought would be most acceptable. I answered: I durst not craue: it was not our custome, nor stood with my Masters honour: but whatsoeuer he sent, I doubted not would be acceptable from so potent a King and so much loued of my Lord. He replyed that I thought he asked in iest, to please mee, and that he saw I was yet discontent, but he coniured me to beleeue he was my friend, and would at conclusion proue so; and vowed by his head hee spake heartily concerning Presents, but I must not refuse for his instruction to name somewhat. This earnestnesse enforced mee to say: If his Maiesty pleased, I thought large Persian Carpets[2] would be fittest: for gifts of cost and value my

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[1] A do-nothing (Fr. fainéant).

[2] Roe himself took home a "great carpet with my [his] arms thereon," which he afterwards bequeathed to his cousin, Sir Henry Roe (Roe's will, in Somerset House).

Master expected not. He answered he would prouide of all sorts and sizes, and added [add ?] to them what hee thought was fit, that your King may know I respect him. Next, hauing Venison of diuers sorts before him, he gaue me halfe a Stagge, with these words : Hee killed it himselfe, and the other halfe I should see bestowed on his wiues ; which was presently cut out, in small pieces of foure pound, and sent in by his third[1] sonne and two women that were called out, to diuers such Mammockes[2] as if it had beene a dole to the poore, and carryed by the Prince bare in his hands. Now I had as much satisfaction and so abundant grace as might haue flattered me into content ; but the iniury was aboue words, though I were glad of these, and of colour to dissemble, for hee sent as a conclusion to know if I were pleased, and did not depart discontent. I answered : His Maiesties fauour was sufficient to make mee any amends. Then, said he, I haue onely one question to aske you, which is, I wonder much, now I haue seene your Presents two yeares, what was the reason why your King sent a Merchant, a meane man,[3] before you with fiue times as many, and more curious Toyes that contented all, and after to send you his Ambassadour with a Commission and his Letter mentioning Presents, and yet what you brought was little, meane and inferiour to the other : I acknowledge you an Ambassadour, I haue found you a Gentleman in your vsage, and I am amazed why you were so slightly set out. I would haue replyed, but he cut me off: I know it is not the Kings fault, nor yours, but I will let you see I esteeme you better then they employed you : at your returne I will send you home with honour, with reward and according to your qualitie : and, not respecting what you brought me, will like a King present your Lord and Master : onely this I will require from you, and not

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[1] A slip for fourth (Jahándár) or fifth (Shahryár). Cp. p. 279.
[2] Morsels (cp. *Coriolanus*, I, iii, 63).
[3] Edwards.

expect it from the Merchants, to take with you a patterne of a Quiuer and Case for my Bow, a Coat to weare, a Cushion to sleepe on of my fashion (which was at his head), and a paire of Boots, which you shall cause to be embroydered in England of the richest manner, and I will expect and receiue them from you, for I know in your Countrey they can worke better then any I haue seene: and if you send them mee, I am a King, you shall not lose by it; which I most thankfully vndertooke, and he commanded Asaph Chan to send me the patternes. Then he demanded if I had any Grape Wine. I could not denie it. He desired a taste next night, and if hee liked it he would be bold; if not, he desired me to make merrie with it. So spending this night onely on me, he rose.

March 3.—Wee came to Mandoa,[1] into which the King entred in state. But no man was suffered to goe in before hee was set, by the aduice of his Astrologers; so that wee all sate without, attending a good houre.

[*March*] 6.—I came into Mandoa, hauing sent before and

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[1] Mandú, once the capital of Málwa, now a deserted city in Dhár State, 65 miles S.S.W. of Ujjain, 34 miles S.W. of the cantonment of Mhow, and 15 miles N. of the right bank of the Narbadá. Burhánpur lies about 90 miles to the S.E.

The city stands on the crest of the Vindhyas, nearly 2000 ft. above sea level, overlooking the Narbadá valley, while behind an abrupt gorge cuts it off from the tableland of Málwa. This strong position led to its being chosen as the capital of the Muhammadan kings of Málwa, who adorned it with many splendid buildings, which are still standing; but after its capture in 1531 by Bahádur Sháh and its consequent incorporation with the dominions of Gujárát, it gradually declined in importance till at last it was abandoned to the jungle. Finch visited it in March, 1610, and described at some length its magnificent ruins (*Purchas*, vol. i, p. 425); and subsequent accounts will be found in Sir John Malcolm's *Malwa* (1822), *Gleanings in Science* (Calcutta, 1830) vol. ii, p. 342; *The History of Mandu*, by "a Bombay subaltern" [Lieut. Blake, as Dr. Burgess tells me] (1844, reprinted in 1875 and 1879), and Harris's *Ruins of Mandoo* (1860). The last-named work contains a number of coloured views of the principal buildings. The latest description will be found in the *Progress Report of the Archæological Survey Circle, N.W. Provinces and Oudh*, 1892-93.

Possibly some future explorer will identify the building in which

found a faire Court well walled, and in that a good Church, one great Tombe. It was taken vp by one of the Kings Seruants, but I got possession and kept it, being the best within all the wall, but two mile from the Kings house, yet so sufficient that a little charge would make it defensible against raines, and saue one thousand *Rupias*; and for Aire very pleasant vpon the edge of the hill.

[*March*] 11.—At night I went toward the Court, but the King, vpon newes of a Lion that had killed some Horses, was gone to hunt; so that I had leisure to seeke some water. For we were brought to a hill with a multitude of people (so great is the foresight, and so good the Policie) where was no water, that men and Cattle were like to perish. That little that was in Pooles some great men possessed, and kept by force. I could get none; the poore forsooke the Citie, and by Proclamation many were commanded away, all Horses and Cattel forbid, and so those who were now in hope to rest were forced to seeke new Dwellings, who departed some two, three and foure *Course* off, to the extreame trouble of all men, and the terrible rising of prouisions. I knew not what to doe; my Roome and House was good, and though I were farre from Markets, yet it was a lesse inconuenience then to sit in the fields without house or shelter; onely I wanted water. So I rode my selfe to seeke some, and found a great Poole

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Roe took up his quarters. It was "on the Sowth side, neare the edge of the hill, a *course* from the Towne," about two miles from the royal headquarters, and on the way from them down to the river; and it consisted of a deserted mosque and tomb, probably both of date anterior to the Mogul conquest, with a courtyard surrounded by a wall not too high for a lion to leap over. A writer in the *Calcutta Review* for 1857 (vol. xxviii, p. 254) mentions that some years previous Roe's name was to be seen on the walls of an old tomb among the ruins of Mandú, but he adds that it was generally supposed to have been scratched there at a comparatively recent date. It would indeed be hard to imagine the ambassador scribbling his name on the walls of his dwelling. One of his suite might have done so, but it is a much more likely supposition that it was the work of some later traveller.

possessed by Chan, which was giuen by the King. I sent to desire him leaue to draw,[1] who granted me foure load a day; which satisfied me in such sort that with selling away some of those Iades[2] that were put vpon me from Surat and putting off my Cattell, I had hope to liue, to which purpose I sent two with them to lye out of Towne. There was not a misery nor punishment which either the want of Gouernment or the naturall disposition of the Clime gaue vs not.[3]

[*March*] 12.—I went to the King, and carried a New-yeares[4] gift, a paire of very faire Kniues of my owne, and sixe Glasses of yours.[5] The excuse I made was well re-

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[1] "The custome being such that whatsoeuer Fountaine or Tanke is found by any great man in time of drought hee shall keepe it proper and peculiar to himselfe" (Coryat's notes in *Purchas*, vol. i, p. 600). The name of the Khán seems to have been omitted.

[2] By an amusing press blunder, in the 1873 reprint of the Journal Roe is made to contemplate "selling away some of those *ladies* that were put upon" him from Surat.

[3] "The misery," wrote Roe to Kerridge, "is pitifull; water sould in the streete at an incredible rate; many Perishing for want; all begging that only as almes." His own difficulty in this respect was removed by the discovery of a spring on the hillside—a discovery due to a young member of the Herbert family who had arrived in Pepwell's fleet, and had joined Roe at the latter's invitation. He had been shipped to India as a ne'er-do-well by his despairing friends; on the voyage out he behaved so badly that he was turned before the mast; at Surat he was a plague to the factors; and on the way to the Court he endangered the safety of the party by first beating and then firing at a native, to the alarm of mild Master Terry, who characterised him as "the most hasty and cholerick young man that ever I knew." He behaved very civilly, however, during his stay with Roe; and when, tiring of the hardships of camp life, he towards the end of 1617 returned to Surat, the ambassador made a special request that he should be well treated and accommodated with a passage home.

Coryat, who records Herbert's discovery of the spring (*Purchas*, vol. i, p. 600), mentions also that "the day after, one of the Kings *Haddys* finding the same and striuing for it was taken by my Lords people and bound all, &c., a great controuersie being about it." He also praises "the Charitie of two great men that in the time of this great drought were at the charge of sending 10 Camels with twentie persons every day to the said Riuer [Narbadá] for water and did distribute the water to the poore, which was so deare that they sold a little skinne for eight *Pise*."

[4] See p. 142, note 2.

[5] The Company's.

ceiued, and the King vsed mee with all grace; this onely was my comfort. He said whatsoeuer came from my hands was present sufficient: he accepted my loue, and it was his part now to giue me. I found a gainer[1] by him, who had so farre performed his promise that I perceiued the King instructed in my desire, and gaue present order to an Officer to send for Master Bidolph to pay him to his content for such things as he claymed, and all the others were acknowledged to be receiued by name; and that when I went to the Prince, the King would write; but was loth to part with any thing, of which the best sweetbagge lay before him. I replyed: I was as loth to goe emptie-handed; so it rested. The King commanded I should come vp and stand within, on the degrees[2] of his Throne by him, where I found on one side the Persian Ambassadour, on the other the old King [of] Candahar,[3] with whom I ranked, and he presently fell to begge a Knife, which next day I sent. The King called for the Persian to come downe, to whom he gaue a Iewell and a young Elephant, for which he kneeled and saluted the ground with his head. The Throne was the same vsed the last yeare, and all the other furniture. At the vpper end was set the King my Soueraignes Picture, the Queenes, my Lady Elizabeths, Sir Thomas Smiths[4] and some others, two pieces of good and fine Tapistrie below them that came from Persia; a Throne of Gold set all ouer with Rubies, Emeralds and Turqueis; and the old Musicke of singing Whores.

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[1] This is evidently a printer's error for Aganor (Agha Núr), of whom see p. 161. He was master of the ceremonies at the *Nau-róz* festivities, and "new vndertooke my Court busines" (Roe's Accounts).

[2] Steps.

[3] See p. 257.

[4] Several of these pictures had been displayed the previous year (see p. 143).

This day I dispatched to Surat my aduice[1] of the Persian businesse and the new Ambassadour, and some remembrance to Abram Chan the Gouernour, from whom I receiued a Letter that in his absence our Nation had beene wronged, against his knowledge, but that, his power being augmented by the Prince, he desired me to be confident in him: that while he liued in authoritie we should neuer suffer any such abuses, but we should liue in all freedome.

[*March*] 13.—I sent a Complement to Asaph Chan, a faire wrought Night-cap of mine owne, and a rich paire of Gloues, which he returned as vselesse in this Countrey; the Cap he receiued, and desired some Alegant Wine, which I sent the next day at night. Aganor (whose diligence now gaue me great hope and ease) sent a *Bannian* his Secretary to tell mee hee had order for the dispatch of the Merchants goods, and that his man should attend Master Biddolph to finish it: that the patternes should be sent me home: and that the King would giue me a Coat, and money to beare my charges to the Prince. I returned answere that I had no vse of a Babylonish Garment, nor needed money: if his Maiestie were pleased to consider the iniuries offered, of which the Paper testified remayned in his hands, and to giue me his Letter to the Prince with some Presents or else to write in my excuse, it was all I would desire: but for his gifts I expected none but Iustice.

[*March*] 21.—I[2] yet could not at instant presse it further; only I discouered the Kings doubts, for he suspected my stealing out of his Countrey, and breach with our Nation; for the Prince, either out of guiltinesse or feare, or perhaps cunning, to make vs the pretence of his owne dessignes,

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[1] See *Addl. MS.* 6115, f. 175. The "new Ambassador" is Connock (see note, p. 330), who was reported by Barker to have assumed that title; Connock himself vehemently denied it (I. O. Records: *O. C.*, No. 466).

[2] Here again Purchas's extract commences in the middle of a story.

had newly enformed the King that next yeare the English purposed the taking of Surat and keeping it, of which our owne folly gaue some colour; for lately vpon one of their ordinary brabbles they caused two hundred Musketers to land and march toward Surat, and being met by diuers the ioyfull Mariners gaue out they went to take it. This absurde brauado (for a handful of men to passe twelue mile to a walled Towne, able to put out a thousand horse armed and as many shot, a Riuer to passe which a few men would defend against a good Armie) gaue iust occasion of scorne and offence; and which the Prince apprehended for some other his owne ends, to refortifie the Castle and Towne, and to send downe Ordnance for the defence: a good prouision to keepe a doore open to flie out, if his Brother liue to correct his ambition. But this information occurring with my discontents heere, and some free language, my pressure to goe to Brampore, and flying newes that we had taken Goa and were preparing a great Fleet in England, did cause some suspition in the King, which, though he concealed it, yet hee thought to discouer by the former Discourse,[1] with which hee rested fully satisfied, but I did not. I had beene long fed with words, and knew as well as the heart that trembled, that feare of vs only preserued our residence.

March 29.—This complaining of Officers is a tune so new, so odious in Court that it troubleth all great men, it beeing their owne case, who, liuing vpon farming Gouern-

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[1] This Purchas has evidently omitted; but from a letter of Roe's to Surat, it appears that the king had told the ambassador that he intended to go to Lahore, "and therfore would not suffer me to goe to Brampoore; but first hee vsed policy with mee, thincking I had desiered to goe to slipp away (for such jealousyes hee conceiues of vs, enfused by the Prince); but when I mett him right, hee was well satisfyed, and assured mee it was better for mee to stay by him vntill I were recalled home, for that hee was my best frend, vrdging a Promise to goe to Lahor with him, which Conditionally I gaue." The Mogul thereupon wrote two letters to the Prince, one to excuse Roe's non-attendance, and the other to order redress of the abuses of which the ambassador had complained.

ments in which they vse all tyrannie to the Naturals, are loth to suffer a way open to the Kings vnderstanding of their practice, who ordinarily hang men by the heeles, to confesse money or to ransome themselues from no fault:[1] this made all men enuie my imployment, and auoid me as an Informer.

April 25.—I receiued from Dabull road from Captain Pepwell that according to aduise he had stayed the Iuncke bound for Mocha,[2] but, weighing the caution giuen by mee to consider well what correspondence were betweene that Prince and Mozolapatam (in whose Territorie the *Solomon* was and could not get to sea), finding both alliance and friendship, he freed her without spoile (alleaging the refusall of Trade to Middleton), which courtesie procured him so good entertainment as the Indies affoords seldome: free Trade and promise to take three hundred Clothes yearely, a good quantitie of Lead sold for money, and some Ordnance (which I like not: to arme the Indians, and the Portugals friends, enemies to the Mogoll) and all other courtesies, which (if this kindnesse proceeded not

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[1] "The people of this Country being generally all so base, and theeues they are all from the begger to the Kinge, and liue as fishes doe in the sea—the great ones eate vpp the little; for first the farmer robbs the peasant, the gentleman robbs the farmer, the greater robbs the lesser, and the Kinge robbs all" (Jas. Bickford to Sir Thomas Smythe, March 4, 1617: *O. C.*, No. 454).

[2] In a letter to Pepwell of the 4th January, 1617 (*Addl. MS.* 6115, f. 173), Roe had suggested, as a prize particularly worth taking, the vessel which yearly traded between Dabhol and the Red Sea. Dabhol, a town on the Malabar Coast, 85 miles S.E. from Bombay, was the principal port of the Bíjápur kingdom; and in view of the war then being waged between the Mogul and the allied Dekhan princes, Roe thought that such a capture would be favourably received at court. Nor was a pretext wanting. At the time of Sir Henry Middleton's visit in February, 1612, the governor, while promising all friendly usage, had secretly prevented the merchants from trafficking with the English (*Lancaster's Voyages*, p. 197); and this action Roe chose to interpret as a mark of sympathy with the Portuguese and a sufficient reason for retaliation. He warned Pepwell, however, first to make sure that the capture of the junk would not embroil the English at Masulipatam with the King of Golconda, owing to the close relations between the latter court and Bíjápur.

for that the Iuncke was yet vnder command) giues me good hope of some Trade in sale yearely at the Port. Howeuer, the freeing of the Iuncke assures me the Commander will doe nothing by catching preiudiciall to the Company, and deliuer himselfe honestly from the iealousies cast vpon him from Dabul.[1] Hee signifies his intent to proceed to Callicute;[2] and if that Factorie be not worth supplyes to transmit it to Dabul.

[*April*] 27.—By the Foot-post I receiued from Mesolapatam that the *Salomon* was got to Sea, and the *Hosiander* from Bantam arriued, who brought the ill newes of the losse of the *Hector* and *Concord*, careening in the Roade of Iacatra, on Iaua:[3] in recompence, that the *Dragon*, *Cloue*, and *Defence* were homeward laden from Bantam. I tooke this occasion to conuey a letter to the Gouernour of Dabul ouer-land, to apprehend the ouerture newly made by him of the trade. Though I had little opinion of the place, yet I would not neglect that, nor encourage the next Fleet to proceed but vpon better assurance then a forced friendship and offers made while their Iuncke was in our power. The effect was to signifie the causes of our staying their goods for refusing trade to Sir Henry Middleton: but now finding in him a better inclination, and a desire to receiue vs and to establish a friendship and league, a promise to take cloth in good quantitie, I required, if these motions were hearty and such as befitted a man of honour, that he would write to the King his Master to procure his *Firman* with

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[1] Probably this is an error for "Surat" (Cp. *O. C.*, No. 467).

[2] A factory had been settled there by Captain Keeling on his way to Bantam in 1616; but it was not a success, and Pepwell took the factors away.

[3] This report was afterwards corrected. "The *Hector* was not cast away, but broke vp by Captain Keeling, who the 10th of October, 1616, sett sayle for England" (Roe's letter to Burhánpur, May 17, 1617: *Addl. MS.* 6115, f. 192). Keeling had received permission from England to return, "such order Comming . . . by the *Swanne* that if hee would he might" (*Ibid.*, f. 191).

Jacatra was the native town which was afterwards converted by the Dutch into their settlement of Batavia (Nova).

such priuiledges as were fit for Merchants, and his promise to buy our goods and to fulfil all the friendly offers made by him his Officer, vnder his Seale, and with expedition to send it mee to the Court of the great Mogoll, whereby I might receiue assurance and encouragement that they entended faith ; and on such reception I did vndertake on the behalfe of the King of England a good and firme Peace toward his Master, his subiects free passage in the seas from any oppression by our Fleets, and that yearely I would either send a ship to his Port for trade or (if it so required) leaue and establish a residence in his Gouernment. I doubt not but yearely, for feare or loue, some good trade by sales may bee made; but for enuestments it will not be worth it; only I proceeded as I would haue wished all men, not with too seeming eager a desire, nor to swallow any offers and conditions hungerly ; for strict care in the first setling is the best aduantage, and for misery[1] of ensuing times, it being a generall rule neuer to mend your first estate, often to empaire it. Euery mans best houre is when he is new, a stranger, and at first seene ; after, the naturall lenitie [leuitie ?] of these Barbarians finds all that brings not change fastidious. This dispatch I committed to Master Bangham,[2] and desired him to make diligent enquiry of the commodities, aduantages, inconueniences, humours and affections of these Decannies towards vs.[3]

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[1] The text is evidently corrupt. Possibly we should read : "for preventing misery."

[2] Thevenot renders this : "Je mis cette depesche entre les mains de nostre Bangan ;" adding, as a marginal note : " Bangam signifie Interprete." This amusing confusion appears to have resulted from the Company's broker (who generally acted as linguist) being mentioned as a *Banyan*.

[3] Roe's letter will be found in *Addl. MS.* 6115 (f. 190). The Governor's reply was received in June. In this he reiterated the promises made to Pepwell, but would not commit himself to buy any specified quantity of goods yearly ; as for the desired *farmán*, he had sent Roe's letter to the King, and would communicate to the ambassador his reply (Roe to Bangham, June 21, 1617). This answer seemed to Roe sufficiently encouraging to follow up the matter ; and he accordingly arranged in the following February

[*April*] 30.—The time[1] that he brought me the excuses of the Persian Ambassadour for failing in taking his leaue of me, which he would not send by a seruant, but vttered the truth that the Ambassadour was not sicke, as he pretended, but receiuing no content from the King in his businesse, he suddenly tooke leaue; and hauing given thirty faire horses at his departure, the King gaue in recompence three thousand *Rupias*, which he tooke in great scorne; whereupon the King prized all that the Ambassadour had giuen him at meane rates, and likewise all that the King had returned since his arriuall, euen to slaues, Drinke, Mellons, Pines, Plantanes, Hawkes, Plumes, the Eliphant and whatsoeuer at extreme high rates, and sending both Bils made it vp in money. This base vsage and scorne caused him to excuse his not seeing Asaph Chan and Etimon Dowlet on a Feuer, which hauing done hee could not come through the Towne to mee without discouerie, but desired him to acquaint me with the truth, and to make all excuse and profession that hee would recompence this discourtesie by double friendship to my Countrimen in Persia; with some bitternesse against the King, which Aganor as freely deliuered, and I seemed as vnwilling to heare. I presented them with some Aligant and Kniues, and we parted.

May 12.—I receiued newes of a great blow giuen the Persian by the Turkes Army, so that Tauris was rased, and the Shabas not able to keepe the field.[2]

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that the *Anne* should call at Dabhol on her way to the Red Sea; this, however, was found to be impracticable (*O.C.*, No. 630), and nothing more was done till the sailing of the fleet in 1619, when Captain Bonner, doubtless at Roe's suggestion, put into Dabhol road on his way down the coast. No sales were effected, but the authorities were so lavish in promises that the English forbore to enforce a trade and sent word to Surat to advise a further attempt in the following year.

[1] Something has been omitted here. Agha Núr seems to have been the person referred to.

[2] An account of the campaign, written by the Turkish Grand Wazír,

To the Factors at Surat.

(*Addl. MS.* 6115, f. 194.)

May 22, 1617.

Vpon your last Complaynt sent vp in Persian and my deliuery to the King, his Maiestie wrote a lettre to the Prince not many dayes Past (for I procured Aganor to mooue it anew) as full of fauour as I could desire, Commanding vs to bee vsed in all sorts as respectiuely as his owne subiectes: that wee came only to see him and his Cuntrie, and therefore hee would not endure any wrong to bee offered to vs. Hee tooke particular notice of your restraynt in victualles, and Customes for victualles, and the detention of the Presents and the sealing them to bee directed to the Prince, and many other Circumstances. Besides, hee gaue order to Asaph-chan to write 4 lettres to fower of the Princes officers by name, to take knowledg of the Complaynt made against them and to signifie at lardg his Maiesties Pleasure and what himself had written the Prince. These lettres Aganor voweth hee saw written and read them, and sayth they are sent away, but I feare Asaph-chan did only blind vs both, though the other vowe fayre Play, and that the King would bee extreame angery at any fraud after his order, because they Came not to my handes. I desier you to make all enquiery what lettres or *firmaens* came lately to any in Suratt concerning vs; for if our great solicitor haue fayled, I will not faile to make the King vn-

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will be found in Purchas, vol. ii, p. 1612. Knolles, in his *History of the Turks* (1687 edn., vol. ii, p. 950) gives the following particulars :

"The War continuing still betwixt the Turks and the Persians, the Grand Visier was sent to invade Persia with a great Army; where, after many exploits of War, News came to Constantinople, that the Visier had gotten a great advantage vpon the Sophy of Persia in a Battel which had been fought, wherein there had been an hundred thousand men slain. And although the Turks lost the greatest number, yet they remained Masters of the Field and spoiled the Persians Camp, who was retired or fled : for that the manner of the Sophy is, to fight with the Turks in retiring or giving way a little ; and with this manner of fighting they have always made Head against the Turks. After this Overthrow, the Visier advanced with his Army and entred far into Persia, which made many doubt that his Return would prove difficult : yet soon after there came Letters to Constantinople, importing, That the Turks being in Persia in great distress for Victuals, the Sophy had sent an Ambassador to the Visier to demand Peace, promising hereafter to satisfie the Tributes of Silk which he ought yearly unto the Turk ; and that the Visier (in regard of the necessity of his Army) had accepted his Offer, and granted him Peace, the which Sultan Osman did afterwards ratifie. After the conclusion whereof, the Sophy sent many Camels loaden with Victuals unto the Turks Army, which was in great distress and want."

derstand yt. I am Confident his desire is now to satisfye vs, and I would not lett it coole.

The last newes that came to this Court from Persia is not good for vs. The Shabas, sending Part of his Armie to entercept a Convoy of the Turkes, was betrayd by one of his owne Captaines and Cutt to Peices 12,000 of his Choyse Guardes, wherby the Turkes Armie aduanced into the feild toward Tawris, and the Shabas, not able to abyde him, razed it and desmantled it wholy, and, wasting the Cuntrie about, keepes the strengthes of the hilles. The truth of newes that Comes soe farr is doubtfull; but the King receiued it from the Gouernors of his borders. . . .

[*May*] 25.—A Lion and a Woolfe vsed my house and nightly put vs in alarume, fetching away Sheepe and Goats out of my Court, and leaping a high wall with them. I sent to aske leaue to kill it, for that no man may meddle with Lions but the King, and it was granted. I ranne out into the Court vpon the noyse, and the beast, missing his prey, seized on a little Island Dogge before me,[1] that I had long kept. But the Woolfe one of my Seruants killed, and I sent it the King.

June 14.—Certaine goods of the Iesuites were sent from Cambaya in a Cabinet, Phisicke and necessaries and a Letter, which were betrayed by the bringer, and deliuered the King; which he opened and sent for the Padre to reade the Letter, and to see all in the Boxes, of which nothing liking him, he returned all; which I obserue as a warning to all that deale in this Kingdome, to bee wary of what they write or send; for such is the custome and humour of the King, that he will seize and see all, lest any Toy should escape his appetite.

[*June*] 18.—I receiued Letters from Amadauar of the Hope of the fall of Indico, by the failing of the Goa *Caffila*,[2]

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[1] "A little white neat shock, that ran out barking at him" (Terry, p. 197). While at Mandú the English found it necessary to keep a fire burning at night outside their dwelling to scare away wild beasts.

[2] The non-arrival of the usual fleet of Portuguese frigates to buy supplies for Europe.

and that there was plentie to be bought, but deare: That the Vnicornes Horne was returned as without vertue, concerning which I gaue him new aduice:[1] many complaints against Surat and others, which I meddle not with. I receiued from Brampoore two Letters, how doubtfull the Debt of Ralph[2] stood, and newes of the returne of Spragge from the *Leskar* of Decan.[3] The Generall Melickamber,[4] with much shew of honour, gaue instant order for priuie search in all his Campe for the Persian fled, and by me remanded; but finding him departed to Vizeapoore[5] by testimony, that businesse was pursued no further, but by a Letter to a Dutch there resident. The Generall desired Spragge to be a meanes to bring him English cloth and swords to his Campe for the supply of his Souldiers, which lye within sixe dayes of Brampoore. In my opinion, that had beene a good employment of some idle men and a way to vent our dead commodities.

July 30.—I receiued from Surat of the casting away of two Dutch ships on the Coast of Damon, that, hauing come from the Southward with Spices and China Silkes, were bound for the Red Sea, but, losing their season with much extremitie of weather, beating many weekes about the entrance for harbour, attempted the like at Socatra and vpon the Coast of Arabia, but being not able to get in any way, they resolued for Surat, hoping by the last yeares good successe to be able to ride safely; but the yeares differ, and beeing forced to anchor in extremitie their greater ship cut her Masts by boord, and after, her Cables breaking,

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1 See p. 290.

2 A printer's error for Zulphe, *i.e.*, Zúlfikar Khán.

3 He had been sent in pursuit of a Persian, whom Fettiplace had trusted at Agra to the amount of 1700 rupees. The debtor had promised to make repayment at Mandú, but fled thence in the night, intending, it was supposed, to take refuge in the enemy's camp.

4 Malik Ambar, the well-known generalissimo of the Ahmadnagar kingdom.

5 Bíjápur.

shee went ashore vpon the Coast, Ozie ground within Musket shot. The ship kept vpright, but hauing lost their long Boat, and their Skiffe not able to liue, by rafters foure men got ashoare, and the Tydes heauing her in vpon the Spring, they saued much goods and all their people. Her Pinnasse of sixtie Tunne was beaten to pieces.[1]

August 21.—The King of Candahor came to visit me and brought wine and fruit, sate halfe an houre, and for one Iest of his begged a bottle of wine.

The Prince Sultan Corseroone had his first day of hoped libertie, and came to take ayre and pleasure at the Banquetting house by me. The Prince at Brampoore had made a Marriage[2] without the Kings consent, and gotten displeasure; besides, some practice of his was discouered against his Brothers life, but this as a secret. He was called for to Court. Normahal and Asaph Chan, by their Fathers aduice, came about to make a peace with Corsoroone and Alliance, and with infinite ioy his libertie is expected.[3]

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[1] These ships were the *Middelburg* and the *Duyve*, under the command of Pieter van den Broecke, the captain of the ship which had visited Surat in the previous year. They left Bantam on the 8th March, 1617, and after calling at Mauritius and Madagascar, stretched across to the coast of Melinde and into the mouth of the Red Sea. Then, as the *Middelburg* had sprung a leak, Van den Broecke made for Socotra; but, missing it, was obliged to run before the wind in the hope of getting into Surat. The storm increased in violence, and on the 18th July the ship struck on the coast near Damaun. As narrated by Roe, the crew reached the shore in safety, where they constructed a barricade to defend their goods. Shortly after, they were joined by the company of the *Duyve*, which had stranded a mile off. Van den Broecke burnt the wreck of his vessel, and the whole party marched to Gandevi, near Surat, where they took up their quarters (Van den Broecke, *Op sijne Reysen*, p. 73). There is an interesting account of the shipwreck in a letter from the Surat factors to the Company, *O. C.*, No. 561.

[2] With the daughter of Sháhnawáz Khán, son of the Khán-khánán.

[3] On the 12th December, 1616, in writing to Surat, Roe had mentioned a rumour that "Sultan Carseroone shall marrie Normahalls daughter and haue liberty and that all the faction will adhere to him" (cp. p. 363). The lady in question was the daughter of Núr Mahál by her former husband, Shír Afgan, and there seems little

[*August*] 22.—The King feasted at Asaph Chans. I receiued from Aleppo and Persia passages of the Warre, the Turkes retrait, but no word of our English, only that the Captaine of Grinins[1] had written to practise their disgrace.

To William Robbins at Ispahan.[2]

(*Addl. MS.* 6115, f. 207.)

Mandoe, August 21, 1617.

Both your mentioned lettrs I haue receiued by long Passadges; this last arriued the 20 Present, by which I vnderstand your honest and effectual care of the trust Committ[ed] you. . . . . I doubt not you haue long since receiued my lettrs by the Post of Mahomet Raza Baege, the Shaw-bas his Ambassador, dispeeded from Court the 10th of January, 1616,[3] and since you are fully possessed of our intents to prosecute the Negotiation of Persia by the arriuall of our factors. I can yet proceed to no farther engagement then by way of aduise to wish you as a faythful englishman to deale Clearly with the Prince what wee seeke and what wee will performe. I feare, as this beginning was rash, it may receiue some disgrace, especially if any of our seruantes either overlash in their woordes and Promises or in their titles.[4] Therfore that you may truly know what you may safely deliuer: Edward Connock was sent from Suratt as a factor to beginn and make offer of the amety, vnprouided either of instructions, goodes or meanes fitt for such an enterprise. Therfore the Prince wilbe Pleasd not to judg vs by this attempt, which was rather to showe our affection then any proofe of our abilitye. Neyther will it bee euer embrased by the English vnlesse a Port bee seecured or Mart established, prises agreed on for such quantetyes of both sides as that neither be deceiued, wee in fitting and Putting off of our Comoditye, nor the Prince of vent for his. Vpon these tearmes you may bee bould to say whatsoeuer hee desiers may

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doubt that, had Khusrú accepted the proffered alliance, he would have regained his liberty, and perhaps his rightful place at court. But he was devotedly attached to his existing wife, and refused to listen to any proposal of the kind. His intended bride was therefore transferred to his youngest brother, Prince Shariyár, whom the empress endeavoured (though unsuccessfully), to set up as a rival to Prince Khurram (cp. *Della Valle*, Hakluyt Soc. edn., vol. i, p. 56).

[1] "Ormus" is probably meant. There is some confusion as to the date on which these letters were received. As will be seen from Roe's reply, they arrived on the 20th, not the 22nd.

[2] A copy sent overland by Robbins to the Company is in the I. O. Records (*O. C.*, No. 530).

[3] See p. 373. [4] See p. 395.

bee accomplished; but a straggling, Peddling, vncertayne trade will neyther Profitt nor become so great Nations. My last is more lardge in this particular. Only I find in all your lettres you haue a beleefe that Sir Robert Sherley is a well wisher to his Countrie and an Enemie to the Portugall. I would perswade you out of this error. His actions showe little reason; he hath not only procured for them a Peace, but is engaged to procure for them the whole trafique, and to that end is he imployed. I doubt not the Sha-bas may haue a good affection to vs; but yet hee will deale like a King and Come fayre off from his first offer. It is not good to bee blind, nor by blinding others to hope to atteyne our endes; therfore I would not wish any Englishman to vndertake that the English will deale for all the Kinges goodes, except hee will exchang it for Cloth and our English Comodityes; then bee bould; the rest I knowe what wee are able to performe. Nor that wee will take Ormus and beate the Portugall out of those seas: these are vanityes.[1] The Company entend a trade, not a warr, but in their owne defence, and that brauely and honestly. It were better for the Prince to ayme only at that free Commerce; so he should vnderstand the sweetnes of a trade and the difference of Nations. But I professe I know not vpon what tearmes any way to bee engaged, the Company not yet knowinge of the enterprise; therfore I will farthar spare my opinion vntill I can doe yt vpon good grownd, and only advise you to assist this beginning with all force and yet with all moderation; to Cast off all hopes of Sir Robert Sherley advancing vs, and trust to ourselues and our owne honest wayes. Thus you shalbe sure to fynd a iust recompence to your desartes.

I feare it wilbe my hard fortune this yeare to visitt you by order from his Maiestie, and to help to build vpon this foundation; for by this fleete I expect a resolution from England, and suppose I shall receiue full Commission to treat effectually. If it fall out so, you shall fynd a frend that will deserue well your Paynes. In the meane tyme, let no newe inventions putt you out of the way to show the King my lettrs and the last articles sent his Maiestie, wherof you have a Copy in English, and they were agreed vnto here by his Ambassador. I neede not send a transcript, for, if they miscarried, now they will arriue too late, for I shall almost bee in Persia as soone as this.[2] If I Come not, I returne for

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[1] Yet in less than five years the English did both.

[2] As will be seen, the letters from England contained no definite instructions to Roe to proceed to Persia, and he contented himself therefore with authorising the factors already on the spot to act on his behalf. It was, however, believed in London at the beginning of 1619 that Roe had either gone (*Cal. State Papers: E. Indies*, 1617-21, No. 532) or was going (*ibid.*, No. 536) to Ispahan, and this has been accepted as a fact by the editor of the *Calendar* (preface, pp. xxx and lxix). and others.

England, and these affayres will no more Concerne mee. So, in expectation of farther newes from the true founteyne, I Committ you to God.

[*August*] 25.—I aduised to Agra my proceeding in the Armenians businesse;[1] backe to Surat and Brampoore of all occurrents.

This day Asaph Chan feasted Normahall [and ?] the Prince Sultan Corsoroone; as is reported, to make a firme alliance, and that he will bring away a Wife, by his Fathers importunitie. This will beget his full libertie, and our proud Masters ruine.[2]

To the expected Generall which shall arriue this yeare.[3]

(*Addl. MS.* 6115, f. 258.)

August 30, 1617.

. . . . The Dutch at Suratt will Plant in spite of vs; but I know no reason why wee should not beate them off at sea. Their insolencyes would be requited, especially of this man, who hath robbd with english Coulors. If his ship bee yet aliue and by search such could bee found, shee would [should ?] bee fired, her goodes seased, and as many as you could take carried home to England to answer it. Howeuer charitye now Pittyes their estate of Nawfrage,[4] enquire of Master Kerridge their Courses to the Sowthward and you will find they merritt noe Curtesye. Therfore my advice is to woorke vpon their necessitye; no way to releeue them, but to buy their Comoditie fitt for the Redd Sea, to fitt our selues if that attempt be thought on, or for Persia; if that last yeare they sould spices at such rate in Suratt as wee might well make profitt on . . . . it is wisdome to vse the Present to best advantage.[5]

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[1] An Armenian had bought cloth at Ajmere from the English factors to the value of 7,500 rupees, but had failed to pay the last instalment of his debt.

[2] See p. 404.

[3] The "expected General" proved to be Martin Pring, of whom see note on p. 420.

[4] Shipwreck.

[5] Roe's advice was acted upon. As soon as the English fleet arrived Van den Broecke went on board and begged that Pring would either give his men passage to Bantam or sell a Portuguese prize for this purpose. Both requests were refused, and the Dutchmen thereupon started to march overland to Masulipatam. They reached their destination in safety on Christmas eve, after a journey of a month and twenty-five days (*op. cit.*, pp. 73 and 80). Roe seems to have changed his mind later, for on November 8, 1617, he wrote

Now I shall come to a more generall consideration of the whole estate of the Companies affaires, which wilbe very requisite well to ponder.[1] I doubt not but you haue brought a greate fleete and vast bellyes to bee filled, and your stock and Cargoson but according to ordinarie and woonted aduise, for that the Company will relye on our helpes toward the Sowthard, which you will finde haue these former yeares beene very bare, and that this will spare you little toward soe great a lading. Therfore first I will lett you see what last yeare was Complayned off: that this factorie deuoured all the rest, and Captain Pepwell went on with little hope to make any quick returne. Master Kerridge can informe you of the wantes before you. Mesolapatan will affoord you little or nothing; Priaman and Ticoe,[2] by a New factory (if it stand) somwhat, but their stock soe small as it will not bee seene. Bantam is suckd drye, and the decay of the trade hastened home Captain Keeling, who, foreseeing the wants if hee should haue stayed out his tyme, saw hee should both fayle of hopes and beare the blame or ill fortune of that was not his fault; therfore wisely, first considering himselfe would returne loaden (for hee that comes full home is welcome for the Present, they that follow must stand to their fortunes), to lade him the *Hector* and all other were emptied, and shee found vnfitt and so broken vp,[3] and all the factories so nere socked that ther is little left to supply the last [general], who carried 3 great ships: where to fill them I know not. You will fynd the estate so much woorse by how much later you are and the greater fleete, and therfore must foresee it for your owne Creditt and the Companyes benefitt. After you are Past Bantam the other factories are of small consequence; that in Socadana[4] is only for a box; the Moluccoes possessed by the Dutch and wee beaten out and they to strong for vs to requite yt; Japan a jest, or not woorth the thincking on, if any factory remayning. The Case standing thus, the wayes to meete these feares I will scamble at and deliuer my opinion. First, at the Place wher you are, I confesse it is now the foun-

expressing regret that Pring had not sold to the Dutch one of the prizes (*O. C.*, No. 559).

In 1620 Van den Broecke returned to Surat as Director for Arabia, Persia, and India, a post which he held till April, 1629. Della Valle, who met him there in 1623, speaks of him as "a gentleman of good breeding and very courteous" (vol. i, p. 25). A portrait of him is given in Valentyn's *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien*, vol. iv, Part II, p. 222.

[1] Some of this is, perhaps, not strictly germane to the subject of the present work; but it presents so interesting a summary of the position and prospects of the company's trade that it seems worth quoting at length. Roe's advocacy of what was practically piracy should not be overlooked; but it was quite in acordance with the ethics of the age.

[2] Pepper ports in Sumatra.

[3] See p. 398.

[4] Sukadana, in Borneo.

tayne and life of all the East India trade, and therfore Principally to bee respected; but not soe as to robb all others, except it could suffice to loade all your shipps; which, seeing it will, with the stock it hath, but Compasse one (and that not the greatest), the other emptie bellies must bee cared for; els it will prooue a deare bargaine. It is true the feare of the Portugalls will Compell vs to arrest all for defence of this; but that may bee better borne if you after know how to dispose the rest. The factors at Suratt, as men respecting in the Principall place their owne estates, will drawe from you all they Can, for that they shall haue the Creditt of this, and the misery of the residue they shall not feele, or not so soone; but wee reguard not Creditt singly, but profitt and Creditt vniuersally, in the Consideration of the whole voyadge. Therfore, as you must bee liberall in sparing whatsoeuer may bee spared for this, soe you must bee veary Circumspect to saue what you can for the Sowthward; I meane Mony, for your Comodity (if as other years) is only fitt for this and is lost forward, so that you may dischardge of that as much as they will take, and Keepe that redy Comodity, coyne, for Bantam, wherin the Dutch are soe furnished that they will overlay you or make you buy at vnreasonable price. Persia, I feare, will demand some, for the King will neuer tast vs without yt, for that is his end, to vent his silkes to rayse a reuenew, for the silke is all his and the best part of his Income. His Ambassador tould mee hee might buy some cloth to pay his souldiers with, but no quantety, neyther would hee truck, nor wee effect any great woorke vnlesse wee resolued to bring two thirdes mony, the rest in spices and fine ware. Our Cloth is sould Cheaper in Spahan then heare; to my Knowledg the Persians bring quantetyes, which lye now at their *Seray*,[1] of the same sorts and best coulors, bought at Aleppo and not vendible at home, and here affoorded at a *rupie* and two in a *Cobdee* vnder ours. This will make you see what hope ther is of raysing that way a stock by Cloth.

But, with the best husbandry you can vse, fitting this factorie as it wilbe requisite, you wilbe so fleeced as you cannot haue hope by all the remayner and the proceed of the others to take in to lade one of your greatest ships, or but one at most; and you shall fynd diuers before you attending to bee serued, like men at a founteyne in scarcety of water. What then is to bee done with your fleete? First, I will propose to you the red sea. Though your stock bee not great, the returne may, beeing reimployed here, and so one ship may bee occupied and fitted; and you shall haue in your way these chances: the Dabull shippes, or of the Samorin,[2] or any other where wee trade not. Beleeue me, Sir, to Chasten any of these People makes not only them but any their Neighbors the better. If it bee doubted how the Mochars will take it

[1] See note on p. 90. [2] Of Calicut.

or how admitt your trade, I answere to the last: very willingly, in Company of the Guzerattes. Necessitie will enforce them to giue you Content, least you molest others by whom they profitt; and ther is noe great doubt, for the Dutch had trade last yeare and good vsage in our Names,[1] and vpon that made this second attempt which is miscarried this yeare, as if oportunitye envited vs to that in our owne Persons which others did in our shadowes. Besides, the Treachery vsed to Sir Henry Middleton was the first apperance and notice of any of our forces in that Seas; they tooke vs for Piratts, which now they better vnderstand, and dare not offend vs, because they know wee can bee revenged, if but by keeping others from trading with them. For the former, to deale with any others that may bee safe Prise, it may bee done after trade at the seas Mouth. It wilbe long before it bee knowne,[2] and, when it is, it matters not; the suffering the Guzurattes to come Peaceably is fauour enough, because they are the mayne traders on that Coast. Concerning the rest of your fleete, you may keepe company on this Coast and take your hazard about Zeilan. If the King of Achin bee fickle and our factorie not flowrishing, hee must bee Chastised too, and this one way, by threatening him not to suffer the Guzerattes to supply him, whom yet you may not meddle with. From thence you may attend the Passadg of the Chineses and other traders in the Sowtheren streightes and Chandg with them at the best hand. If you stand so low as China or towards Mocaa[3] itselfe, suerly all is Prise; and this may either gett you a trade or at least serue the Present, and cannot leaue the whole in woorse estate then it is, for as good wee doe it as beare the envy for no profitt, for the Dutch practise it vnder our English Crosse. Japan I doubt you will not see; or, if you doe, I feare you shall fynd cause enough to bidd you thinck nothing frye that abides in the nett. The Portugalles I neede not any way Mention; their Iniuries and your owne Commission will guide you. Some will say this Course will in tyme ouerthrow all trade. I am of another opinion, considering the Nature of this People, that haue no sence of honor, but only Profitt. Wee shall in tyme teach them to know their superiors; and if they will not giue vs trade, wee can yet choose whither they shall enioy it or no. Necessitye and feare will enforce them with whom no Curtesy nor reason can preuayle. Necessitye alsoe Pleades now for vs; for, were wee admitted trade, wee want meanes for soe great fleetes to vse it and the losse at hand wilbe heavie. The gaine by good bootye once Pursed will bare out the couldnes of trafique

[1] This is doubtful. The Surat factors told Roe that the Dutch had been taken at first for Englishmen, but they did not assert that they had pretended to be so; while Van den Broecke distinctly avers that he hoisted the Stadtholder's flag over the Dutch factory at Mocha.

[2] At Mocha.

[3] Macao.

a yeare or two; and some kind of Springes are the fresher for Cropping. Thus you haue my opinion, which vse according to your discretion; for I doe not decree but only propose[1]. . . .

And so, blessing the gratious God of Mercy for your safety and all your Company, to whom I desire to remember my harty english wishes, I Committ you to God.

September 1.—Was the Kings Birth-day, and the solemnitie of his weighing,[2] to which I went, and was carryed

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[1] The rest of the letter is occupied by a criticism of the policy pursued by Downton, when attacked by the Portuguese, of keeping on the defensive, in "the hole at Swally." Roe maintains that it would be far safer, instead of allowing themselves to be "beseeged in a fish Pond," to "Putt out. . . . and attend them in sea Roome." "Captain Best with lesse force mett them and beate them like a man, not by hazard; and if he had had that force which Dowton had, I beleeue had brought away a better trophee." Pring agreed with Roe, and in a letter to the Company of November 12, 1617 (*O.C.*, No. 564) he stated that if the rumour proved true that seven Portuguese ships had arrived, it was his intention to go to meet them, "where I may be in a more spatious place then the poole of Swally."

[2] Roe had missed this ceremony the previous year, owing to the mistake of a messenger (see p. 252). It was an old Hindu custom, adopted by Akbar, and is still in use in Travancore and elsewhere.

Terry, who was present on this occasion, thus describes the scene (p. 395): "The first of September, which was the late Mogols birthday, he, retaining an ancient yearly Custom, was in the presence of his chief Grandies weighed in a Balance; the Ceremony performed within his House or Tent, in a fair spacious Room, whereinto none were admitted but by special leave. The Scales in which he was thus weighed were plated with Gold, and so the beam on which they hung by great Chains made likewise of that most precious Metal. The King sitting in one of them was weighed first against silver Coin, which immediately after was distributed among the poor: then was he weighed against Gold: after that against Jewels, as they say; but I observed (being present there with my Lord Ambassadour) that he was weighed against three several things laid in silken Bags on the contrary Scale. When I saw him in the Balance, I thought on Belshazzar, who was found to light, *Dan.* 5, 27. By his weight, of which his Physicians yearly keep an exact account, they presume to guess of the present estate of his body, of which they speak flatteringly, however they think it to be. When the Mogol is thus weighed he casts about among the standers-by thin pieces of silver and some of Gold made like flowers of that country and some of them are made like Cloves and some like Nutmegs, but very thin and hollow. Then he drinks to his Nobles in his Royal wine (as that of Ahasuerus is called, *Esth.* 1, 7) who pledge his health". . . . .

Other accounts of the ceremony will be found in *The Hawkins' Voyages*, p. 440; Mandelslo's *Travels* (second English edition), p. 42; Bernier's *Travels* (Constable's edn.), p. 268, and Blochmann's *Aín-i-Akbari*, vol. i, p. 266.

into a very large and beautifull Garden ; the square within all water; on the sides flowres and trees; in the midst a Pinacle, where was prepared the scales, being hung in large tressels, and a crosse beame plated on with Gold thinne, the scales of massie Gold, the borders set with small stones, Rubies and Turkey,[1] the Chaines of Gold large and massie, but strengthened with silke Cords. Here attended the Nobilitie, all sitting about it on Carpets, vntill the King came; who at last appeared clothed, or rather loden with Diamonds, Rubies, Pearles, and other precious vanities, so great, so glorious! his Sword, Target, Throne to rest on correspondent; his head, necke, breast, armes, aboue the elbowes, at the wrists, his fingers euery one with at least two or three Rings, fettered with chaines, or dyalled[2] Dyamonds, Rubies as great as Wal-nuts (some greater), and Pearles such as mine eyes were amazed at. Suddenly hee entered into the scales, sate like a woman on his legges, and there was put in against him many bagges to fit his weight, which were changed sixe times, and they say was siluer, and that I vnderstood his weight to be nine thousand *Rupias*, which are almost one thousand pound sterling.[3] After with Gold and Iewels, and precious stones, but I saw none; it beeing in bagges might bee Pibles. Then against Cloth of Gold, Silke, Stuffes, Linnen, Spices, and all sorts of goods, but I must beleeue, for they were in fardles.[4] Lastly, against Meale, Butter, Corne, which is said to be giuen to the *Baniani*, and all the rest of the Stuffe; but I saw it carefully carryed in, and none distributed. Onely the siluer is reserued for the poore, and serues the ensuing yeare, the King vsing in the night to call for some before

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[1] Turquoises. [2] Drilled? Cp. p. 322.

[3] In 1616 Jahángír weighed 6514 tolahs (*Túzak*), equivalent to 210⅓ lbs. troy (Blochmann's *Aín-i-Akbari*, vol. i, p. 267 *n.*) or about 12 stone 5 lb. Nine thousand rupees, if of the weight usual at this period (about 176 grains), would weigh about 275 lbs. troy.

[4] Bags or bundles.

him, and with his owne hands in great familiaritie and humilitie to distribute that money. The scale he sate in by one side; he gazed on me, and turned me his stones and wealth, and smiled, but spake nothing, for my Enterpreter could not be admitted in. After he was weighed, he ascended his Throne, and had Basons of Nuts, Almonds, Fruits, Spices of all sort, made in thinne siluer, which he cast about, and his great men scrambled prostrate vpon their bellies; which seeing I did not, hee reached one Bason almost full, and powred into my Cloke. His Noblemen were so bold as to put in their hands, so thicke that they had left me none if I had not put a remayner vp. I heard he threw Gold till I came in, but found it siluer so thinne, that all I had at first, being thousands of seuerall pieces, had not weighed sixtie *Rupias*. I saued about twentie *Rupias* weight, yet a good dishfull, which I keepe to shew the ostentation; for by my proportion he could not that day cast away aboue one hundred pound sterling. At night he drinketh with all his Nobilitie in rich Plate. I was inuited to that, but told I must not refuse to drinke, and their waters are fire. I was sicke and in a little fluxe of bloud, and durst not stay to venture my health.

September 9.—The King rode to the Riuer of Darbadath,[1] fiue *course*, on pleasure; and comming by my house, I rode out to meete him. The custome is, that all men by whom hee passeth neare their gate make him some Present, which is taken as a good signe, and is called *Mombareck*,[2] good Newes or good Successe. I had nothing to giue, nor might fitly goe with nothing, nor stay at home without discourtesie; which made mee venture vpon a faire Booke well bound, filleted and gilt, Mer-

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[1] Narbadá.

[2] *Mubárak.* Bernier speaks of the Dutch embassy sent to congratulate Aurangzíb on his accession as going to present him "with the *Mohbarec*" (p. 127).

cators last Edition of the Maps of the world,[1] which I presented with an excuse that I had nothing worthy, but to a great King I offered the World, in which he had so great and rich a part. The King tooke it in great courtesie, often laying his hand on his breast, and answering: Euery thing that came from mee was welcome. Hee asked after the ships arriuall, which I told him I daily expected. Hee told me hee had some fat wild Hogges sent him from Goa, and, if I would eate any, at his returne he would send me some. I made him due reuerence, and answered: Any thing from his Maiestie was a feast to me. He rode on his Eliphant, and the way was stonie; and I offering to bring him toward the gate, hee bade God keepe mee, and returne to my house, demanding which it was, and praysing it (indeed, it was one of the best in the *Leskar*, yet but an old Church and large Tombe inclosed). Iterating his farewell, he said the way was ill, and desired me to goe home; and with much shew of courtesie tooke leaue.

[*September*] 16.—I rode to repay the visit of Marre Rustam,[2] the Prince of Candahor, who at my arriuall sent word he durst not see mee, except hee asked leaue of the King or acquainted Etimon Dowlet or Asaph Chan, which at the *Durbar* he would. I answered: he should not need, for I neuer meant to trouble my selfe with a man so vnciuill, nor to come a second time: I knew well it was a shift out of ill manners: that the King would bee no more angry for his bidding mee welcome to his house then for his comming to mine: but that I cared not to see him, but came in ciuilitie to requite that I took so in him. His man desired me to stay vntill he told his Master my answere; but I would not, and returned.

At night, I rode to Court to visit the King, who ques-

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[1] "Cost in England 7*l*." (Roe's Accounts).

[2] The Amír Rustam, of whom see p. 257.

tioned about the Booke of Maps; but I did forbeare any speech of my debts.

[*September*] 25.[1]—I rode to the Court, very weake, to make triall of the King about our debts;[2] for that Muckshud had also newly answered he had mist his *Prigany*,[3] and knew not how to pay, but by his house. I deliuered the King the Merchants Petition, which hee caused to bee read aloud, and the names of the debtors and sureties and summes distinctly, by Asaph Chan; which done, he called Araddat Chan,[4] the chiefe of his officers of Houshold, and the *Cutwall*, and gaue them order; but what I vnderstood not. Reading the names, hee questioned their abilities and qualities, and what goods they receiued, finding some dead, some strangers: concerning Rulph,[5] Asaph Chan offered to speake to the Prince at his arriuall to finish it. My Interpreter was now called in, and the King conuerted to mee, giuing this answere: That the Merchants had made debts at their owne wills, and not brought a note of their goods to him: therefore, if the men were insufficient, it was

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[1] The 23rd, according to Roe's letter to the Surat factors of the 29th idem (*Addl. MS.* 6115, f. 264).

[2] Two of these—14,000 rupees due from Mukshud Dás, and 30,000 owed by "Groo" [Guru]—were for cloth sold in Ajmere in October, 1616. There was also a sum of 2,000 rupees due from "Hergonen," who had made over some elephants to satisfy the claim; but, he dying at this time, all his goods were seized for the king's use. Ásaf Khán promised Roe that he would see this debt discharged out of the proceeds of a house at Agra which had belonged to the deceased.

[3] His "*pargana*," *i.e.*, the tract of country assigned by the king for his maintenance. Bernier in his glossary (p. 455 of Constable's transln.) has: "*Pragna*, that is, the chief city, burgh, or village, which has many others subordinate to it, and where the rents are paid to the King, who is the absolute Lord of all the lands of his Empire." Purchas, in a marginal note on p. 455 of his first volume, explains that "*prigonies* are lordships."

[4] Irádat Khán, the title of a Persian named Mír Muhammad Bákir. He was introduced at court by Ásaf Khán, and later on assisted him materially in securing the accession of Sháh Jahán. The latter gave him in turn the governments of Bengal, Allahábád, Gujárát, and Jaunpur. He died in 1649.

[5] See note on p. 403.

at their perill; for that it was no reason to expect the money from him (which, I suppose, he spake of his seruant Hergonen, who being dead, his goods were seazed for the Kings vse): but seeing it was the first time, he would now assist me, and cause our money to be payed: but if hereafter the English would deliuer their goods to his seruants without money or acquainting him, they should stand to the hazard: but if, when their commodities came to the Court, they would bring a bill to him of all, he would first serue himselfe, and after distribute the rest to such as should buy that and[1] if any of them failed, he would pay the money himselfe. This is indeed the custome of Persia Merchants, to bring all to the King (which I haue often seene), who takes his choice and deliuers the rest to his Nobilitie, his *Scriuanoes* writing to whom, and his Officer cutting price; a copy of which is giuen the Merchant, and hee goes to their houses for money; if they pay not, there is an expresse Officer that hath order by currant course to force them. Then was it told my Interpreter what command the King had giuen: that Arad [Araddat ?] Chan should call the debtors before him, and cause them to pay; but this pleased not our Merchants. I thought it both a iust and gratious answere; better then in such cases priuate men can get of great Princes.

The King, hearing I had been sicke and wished for wine, gaue me fiue bottles, and commanded, when I had ended those, to send for fiue more, and so as I wanted: and a fat Hogge, the fattest I euer saw, sent vp by Mochreb Chan, that came from Goa, which at midnight was brought home by a *Haddy* with this message: since it came to the King it had eaten nothing but Sugar and Butter. I tooke this as a signe of fauour, and I am sure in that Court it is a great one. Then he sent for the Map-booke, and told me

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[1] Probably we should transpose this and the preceding word.

he had shewed it his *Mulaies*,[1] and no man could reade nor vnderstand it; therefore if I would, I should haue it againe. I answered: At his pleasure; and so it was returned.[2]

[*September*] 26.—There being a *Raia* in rebellion in the hills, not past twentie *Course* from the *Laskar*, the King lately sent out two *Vmbras*[3] with horse to fetch him in; but he defended his quarter, slew one of them and twelue *Maancipdares*,[4] and in all of both sides about fiue hundred; returning scornefull messages to the King to send his sonne, for he was no prey for ordinary forces.

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[1] See note 3 on p. 312.

[2] "The Mogol feeds and feasts himself with this conceit, that he is Conqueror of the world; and therefore I conceive that he was troubled upon a time, when my Lord Ambassador, haveing business with him (and upon those terms there is no coming unto that King empty handed, without some present or other). . . . and having at that time nothing left, which he thought fit to give him, presented him with Mercators great book of Cosmography (which the Ambassador had brought thither for his own use), telling the Mogol that that book described the four parts of the world, and all the several countreys in them contained. The Mogol at the first seem'd to be much taken with it, desiring presently to see his own Territories, which were immediately shewen to him; he asked where were those countreys about them; he was told Tartaria and Persia, as the names of the rest which confine with him; and then causing the book to be turn'd all over, and finding no more to fall to his share, but what he first saw, and he calling himself the Conqueror of the world, and having no greater share in it, seemed to be a little troubled, yet civily told the Ambassador, that neither himself nor any of his people did understand the language in which that book was written, and because so, he further told him that he would not rob him of such a Jewel, and therefore returned it unto him again. And the truth is that the Great Mogol might very well bring his action against Mercator and others who describe the world, but streighten him very much in their Maps, not allowing him to be Lord and Commander of those Provinces which properly belong unto him."—Terry's *Voyage to East India*, p. 367.

[3] Properly a plural word (Arabic *Umarā*, pl. of *Amīr*), but often used, as here, to signify a grandee or military commander of rank. Fryer styles the *Mansabdārs* "petty *Omrahs*."

[4] See p. 239.

TO THE COMMANDER OF THE FLEET.

(*Addl. MS.* 6115, f. 263.)

Mandoa, September 29, 1617.

. . . . Some alteration is hapned in the Proiect of Dabull for that I vnderstand Fearne[1] hath Robbd their great shipp. It will stirr vp the Consideration of this People, but Crosse our designe, for I feere they will not venture out, nor beeleeue vs free. If you Purpose not to trie the Port, wee shall haue leysure to Consulte of that in tyme of another Course at your departure.

That which I would most impresse into you is the Consideration of the Redd Sea, the rather for that it is reported the King sendes his sister to Mecha, which, if true, wilbe the fittest oportunitye to treat of those Conditions which Pride now will not admitt off. I assure you shee is the best Price that euer was taken In India. The King is fully resolued to visitt Guzeratt, Cambaya and Amadavaz and there will spend this yeare. The Nearenes will some way aduance our expedition. I receiue good woordes and good vsage, but without Presentes shall fynd drye effectes. Now is the last triall; for our Comoditye is badd, our Conditions vnstable; and if it mend not, wee must showe them another Countenance. . . . . A few dayes since dyned with mee an Italian that long hath vsed Persia. I enquired the estate of trade. His answere was it was not *tierra de negocio*:[2] all the trafique lay betweene Aleppo and Casbin, for silke and mony: that only wilbe accepted: that our Cloth will neuer vent, for in experience it hath beene often tryed from Turkye and sould at

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[1] In the spring of 1615 the Company had been alarmed by a report that Sir John Fern and others (of whom Pepwell was one) were meditating a voyage to the Red Sea under a commission from the French King. The aid of the Privy Council was invoked, and royal letters were obtained commanding Fern to desist. He thereupon fled into France, and the scheme came to nothing. The Court, however, feared that he would renew his attempt, and in the royal commission to the leaders of the 1616 fleet (*First Letter Book*, p. 463), a clause was inserted authorising the capture of interlopers, Fern being particularly mentioned. Doubtless their letters to the East contained a warning to their servants to prepare for troubles from this source, for on the 30th May, 1617, Roe wrote to Kerridge: "I much feare some ill Newes from the Redd Sea that will bringe vs all in Trouble by the fugitiue Fearne. Possesse all men with an opinion of french Pirattes. God turne his wayes from offending vs. If hee touch any of this Country goodes, the Prince will prosecute revenge and satisfaction with all Malice" (*MS.*, f. 193). Roe's fears were, however, groundless, for, at the date when he was writing thus, Fern was in command of a ship in Ralegh's ill-fated expedition to Guiana (see Hume's *Life of Ralegh*, p. 325; Gardiner's *History of England*, vol. iii, p. 128; etc.).

[2] No country for trade.

extreame losse. The disposition of the King is to bee very familiar with strangers if they bee in Cash. In hope to gett, no man can escape him; when hee hath suckd them, hee will not knowe them. . . . .

October 2.—The Prince entered the Towne, and all the great men in wondrous triumph. The King receiued him as if he had no other, contrary to our expectation.[1] Brampore left almost emptie vnder *Chan Channa*. I had sent

[1] The campaign against the Dekhan princes had now been brought to a close by the submission of the King of Bíjápur, which forced Malik Ambar also to make terms by the surrender of Ahmadnagar and other territory which he had reconquered from the Moguls. As Jahángír loftily puts it in his *Memoirs*: "The insurgents, with that craft which distinguishes them, made him [the Prince] their intercessor, and abandoned the imperial territory. They presented large offerings of money and valuables as tribute and engaged to remain quiet and loyal. At the instance of Khurram I remained for some days in the palace of Shádíábád at Mandú and consented to forgive their misdeeds" (Elliot and Dowson's *History*, vol. vi, p. 376). Roe's account, contained in a letter to the English ambassador at Constantinople, August 21, 1617 (*Addl. MS.* 6115, f. 207), is far less complimentary: "The King is at Present in that they call an Army; but I see no souldiers, though multitudes entertayned in the qualety. The purpose was the oppression of the vnited Decan kinges, who are perswaded to part with some rotten Castles that may pretend a shadowe of yeilding somwhat, for which they are pleased here to thinck themselues woorthy of the glorious Prayses due to an honorable Conquest."

It was on this occasion that the Prince received the title by which he was ever after known. "About three o'clock after noon, Prince Khurram arrived and obtained audience in the fort of Mandú. He had been absent from the Court for eleven months and eleven days. After he had paid me his respects I called him in the window where I was sitting, and with the impulse of excessive paternal affection and love I immediately rose up and took him in my arms. The more he expressed his reverence and respect for me, the more my tenderness increased towards him. I ordered him to sit by me. He presented me with 1000 gold *mohurs* and 1000 *rupees* . . . Formerly, at the conquest of the Ráná, a *mansáb* of 20,000 and the command of 10,000 horse had been conferred on Prince Khurram, and when he was sent to the Dakhin he was honoured with the title of a Sháh. Now, in consideration of his present service, his *mansáb* was promoted to a *mansáb* of 30,000 and the command of 20,000 horse. I also conferred on him the title of Sháh-Jahán. It was also ordered that henceforth a chair should be placed for him in the Court next to my throne, an honour which was particularly conferred on him and had never been known in my family."—Jahángír's *Memoirs*, in Elliot and Dowson's *History*, vol. vi, p. 351.

to Asaph Chan[1] to excuse my not meeting him, for I was not able to stirre, nor had no Present. All the great men, and the Kings Mother, receiued him foure *Course* off. I sent also some of my seruants with my iust excuse, which his pride only nodded at.

[*October*] 5.—I receiued from Surat newes of our shippes arriuall, the Admirall missing, and her Prize of Mosambique;[2] the rest well, who had taken two English Rouers,

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[1] This is probably an error for Afzal Khán, the Prince's Secretary (see p. 160). The same mistake occurs on p. 435.

[2] The 1617 fleet consisted of five vessels, the *Royal James*, *Royal Anne*, *New Years Gift*, *Bull* and *Bee*, commanded by Martin Pring, an old acquaintance of Roe. Pring, whose Virginian voyages are well-known, had been master of the *New Years Gift* in Downton's fleet of 1614, and the ambassador was not without hopes that he would find him in charge of one of the incoming ships; his pleasure when "the expected general" turned out to be his desired friend is shown in the letter which follows.

Part of the fleet reached Swally on the 20th September; but Pring himself, whose ship had a bad leak, did not arrive till five days later. Three prizes had been taken: one a Portuguese ship from Mozambique, laden with ivory and gold, and bound for Diu; the others, two English interlopers, who, when they were seized, were on the point of capturing the great junk which was yearly sent from Gogo to the Red Sea, and was now on her return journey. These two ships were the *Francis*, of 150 tons, commanded by Samuel Newse, and the *Lion*, of 100 tons, under the charge of Thomas Jones, who had been formerly boatswain of the *Hector*; they were the joint property of Sir Robert Rich (who afterwards as Earl of Warwick was a prominent leader in the Civil War) and Philip Barnardi, an Italian merchant resident in London, and had been set out under the protection of a commission from the Duke of Savoy. Roe strongly advised resolute action with these unwelcome intruders, and Pring, acting on his advice, confiscated both ships and goods for the use of the Company. This course was entirely approved by the latter; but it involved them in a long dispute with the noble owner, who claimed damages amounting nearly to 20,000*l.* The King, who could not deny that the Earl had infringed their patent, yet pressed them to give compensation. In the controversy, Roe earned the gratitude of the Company by taking upon himself the responsibility of the seizure, and justifying it to the Privy Council. In the end, the matter was referred to arbitration (see *Cal. State Papers*, *East Indies*, 1617-21, preface, pp. lxxvi-lxxx; Gardiner's *History of England*, vol. iii, p. 216, etc.; *Historical MSS. Commission*, *Fourth Report*, Lords' Papers, p. 19; Court Minutes, *passim*).

Extracts from Pring's journals of his two voyages to the East will be found in Purchas's first volume, p. 629. For Pring himself see Professor Laughton's article in the *Dict. of Nat. Biography*, and a pamphlet by Dr. James H. Pring, published at Plymouth in 1888.

set out by ( )[1] who were found in chase of the Queen Mothers ship returned from the Red-sea, which they fortunately rescued and brought safe in (if shee had bin taken, we had all bin in trouble); with these the Companies Letter, invoice, instructions for Persia, and diuers other notes of aduise, that by reason of the Admiralls absence they knew not what course to take with the men of Warre. I dispeeded to Surat orders about all businesse, as appeares in my Letters.

To Captain Martin Pring.

(*Addl. MS.* 6115, f. 268.)

[5 October, 1617.][2]

Honest Man,

God, that knowes my hart, wittnesse you are the wellcomest man to this Country that Could here arriue to assist my many troubles. . . . .

The Company have, it seemes, entrusted more to mee then I am willing to vndertake; for receiuing a Commission about Persia,[3] it is soe limitted, and with soe good reasons, that I cannot proceed with such hast as a supply would requier; neither dare I thinck it requisite to seperate your fleete, nor Convenient to venture more goodes before advice, and advice from a soberer man then Connaught, who was sett out without my knowledg and,

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[1] Thus in the original. Purchas was unwilling to mention in this connection so exalted a person as the Earl of Warwick.

[2] No date is given in the original.

[3] From Carew's *Letters* (Maclean's edn., p. 77) we learn that Roe's despatch to the Company of February 14, 1615-16 (see p. 128) had reached England in good time by an express messenger from the consul at Aleppo; those to the King and Council were entrusted by the same official to John Pory, and did not come to hand till later. On the 16th Jan., 1616-17, Sir Thomas Smythe and other leading members of the Company presented Roe's letter at the Council-table. "The Lords like so well of it," wrote Carew, "and the marchants so willinge to finde itt, as that it was concluded that a tryall thereof shall be made;" and the result is seen in the letters now received. Carew suggested three possible objections to the venture: that Jáshak was an unsuitable port: that the Grand Signor might be offended by a compact with his enemy, and retaliate on the Englishmen in his dominions: and that the need of ready money to drive the trade (600,000*l.* he was told would be necessary) would exhaust the treasure of the kingdom. The resulting instructions to Roe (here referred to) will be found in Appendix B. See also the Introduction.

I am sure, vpon such Conditions as the Company haue restrayned mee in. I am of a Nature not to hurt; it was the rashnes of our Merchantes last yeare, whom I would now excuse and helpe out, if anything Committed that may preiudice them. I vnderstand the Company to entend noe farther yet then a treaty of Conditions, which they heare[1] haue begunne, but neuer sent me a Copy how they limited them. For feare of their forwardnes I sent to the Shabas by his Embassador an ouerture of a treaty,[2] strict enough and wary on our Part, the answere wherof I expect, if Master Connocht, who is Ambassador,[3] haue not taken vpon him to enlardg yt and promise that wee cannot performe. Therfore, the busines thus perplexed, it can from mee receiue noe farther authoritye then that I shall not Crosse any supply, if the Merchantes hould it necessarie. But I see no fitt Cargazon to send but will weaken this too much. . . . . Steeles Proiectes[4] are Idle and vayne, smokey ayrye Imaginations. His owne relations of Persia Contradictorye and silly, magnifying his owne woorkes. I neuer sawe him; but I suppose I vnderstand him, and woonder how the Company are so deceiued if they Putt much trust in him. . . . .

That which causeth my present writing is concerning two men of warr taken by you, of which it seemes some make doubt to stay, by reason of their Commissions and the greatnes of their owners. You know your strength, what you may doe to men of their qualetye; and I know the Companies lettres patentes prohibiting any of the subiectes of England to trade this way, much more to roue. And if it prohibit it, it consequently giueth power to execute such prohibition; els were it in vayne. Therfore I desier you not only to stay them, but to take out their officers and some of their men and change them with yours for safetye, least they make escape. They will steed you well with the Portugalles, whom you may expect to Bicker with. The reason of this strict dealing is, besides the right of the company and the equitye of Nationes, the Kinges honor is engaged that wee shall not molest free merchantes, not our enemyes. I am here a Pawne, and represent his Person; assure you, what damage soeuer any of these subiectes shall susteyne by vs our bodyes and goodes shall answere. If for any occasion of our owne you deteyne the said ship of Suratt, it is in our owne Power to free her: that is another case. I heare one Captain Newse is in one. Hee, if I mistake not, is a follower of my lord Dauers,[5] himselfe a souldier and a valiant Man. Deale with him to bee content to referr himselfe to mee. I will vse him well and like his qualetye,

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[1] The Surat factors.
[2] See p. 373. [3] See p. 395. [4] See p. 438.
[5] Lord (Henry) Danvers (1573-1644), afterwards Earl of Danby.

and, if wee might bee assured of his fayth, perhaps some way employ him. . . . . Sir Robert Rich is my frend; but I am now a Publique minister, and cannot see anything with those eyes; yet hee shall fynd I will not vse any extreamety in the End. Ther are many Better Courses then this, to wrong his Souerayrige and his Nation. . . . . Assure them they shall be better vsed, and may thanck God they fell into our handes; for as men of warr they shall haue honest shares, if wee purchase vpon our enemies; if not, I can tell them where to make a voyadge they shall justefye. Deale effectually with them to make them frendes and faythfull; and write mee your opinion whither wee may trust or no. . . . .

. . . . There is one Pearle[1] in a box directed to mee, and somwhat concerning it concealed from the Merchantes. That may bee sowed so in Cloth that it may come safe and speedily by the first English; but take heed you bee cunning hiders, for here are cunning searchers. . . . .

I pray loue that little woorme John Hatch,[2] and Commend mee to him. If no lettres from the King to the Mogol nor Prince a great error.

Your loving frend,

THO. ROE.

I know not Captain Andrew Shilling[3] but by fame to be a braue honest man, and therfore I am bound to loue him and to wish him all good. If hee will trye mee hee shall fynd I remember some of his Actions. If Captain Adames bee our ould Virgi-

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[1] A valuable pearl weighing 29½ carats, "shaped like a pear, very large, beautiful and orient" (Terry, p. 374). Four strings of small pearls were also sent (Biddulph's Accounts).

[2] From the mention of Hatch on p. 6 it seems probable that he was master's mate in the *Lion* when Roe came out in her. The latter wrote to the Governor of the Company in his favour, and Smythe, with a jest about turning plain John Hatch into Master Hatch, sent him out in the present fleet as master of the *Bee*. In her, a little later, he made a voyage to Jáshak. When the fleet was leaving Surat, the ambassador made it his special request to Pring, that he would either take Hatch home with him, or send him back to India that he might be with Roe. In April, 1618, however, Hatch was made commander of the *New Years Gift*, and did not return to England till 1621, when he was censured by the Court for having "carried himself very weakly in the fight with the Flemings."

[3] Shilling, the commander of the *Anne* (in which Roe made his homeward voyage), has earned a place in the *Dictionary of National Biography* by his action with the Portuguese off Jáshak, in which he lost his life (Jan. 1621). An account of him will also be found in the preface to Sir Clements Markham's *Voyages of William Baffin.*

nian Adams,[1] hee is my good frend. Commend mee to him whosoeuer, and to all our Countrimen.

[*October*] 6.—I rode to visite the Prince, at his vsuall houre, to giue him welcome and to acquaint him with our businesse, determining to make offer of all respect to him, and to that end not to come emptie handed, and bought a fine Chaine of gold, China worke. I sent in word. He returned that I should come next morning at Sunne rise, when he sate to be worshipped, or stay till his riding to Court, which I must haue done at his doore. This I tooke in extreame scorne, his Father neuer denying me accesse; and his Pride is such as may teach Lucifer; which made me answere roundly: I was not his Slaue, but a free Ambassadour of a King, and that I would neuer more visite him, nor attend him; hee had refused me Iustice: but at night I would see him with the King, to whom only I would addresse my selfe; and so departed.

At night I went to the King, who receiued me graciously. I made a reuerence to the Prince, but he would not once stirre his head. Then I acquainted the King that, according to his order, I had brought an abstract of our ladings, desiring his command. After his manner he asked what and what, and was so wonderfully satisfied, especially with Arras, that he promised mee all fauour, all priuiledges, all that I would desire. He enquired for Dogges, which I could not answere; and for Iewels, which I told him they were dearer in England then in India, at which hee rested satisfied. I durst not name the Pearles for many reasons; if I had, our people

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[1] Robert Adams, commander of the *Bull*. He was sent home with her from Surat in February, 1618, and went out again to Bantam the following season with the news of the agreement made with the Dutch. Frequent references to him will be found in *Cocks's Diary*.

A Captain Adams is mentioned by Purchas (vol. iv, pp. 1733, 1756) as going out with Gates's Virginia fleet of 1609, and doubtless it is to him that Roe refers; but whether he was identical with the commander of the *Bull* does not appear.

had beene waylaid for by the Prince, and such snatching as I could not auoyd infinite trouble; I knew I could bring them ashoare and to Court by stealth: that the lesser expected, the better welcome: but my maine reason was, I would make a friend by them. Therefore, when Asaph Chan pressed me to know, I desired him to make that answere of dearenesse, and that I would speake with him alone. He soone vnderstood me, and made excuse.

The King being well pleased, I thought it good time to mooue againe for the debts; and, hauing my Petition ready, opened it, and offered it vp. The King not marking, others discouered what it was, and knew the King would bee enraged that his order was neglected; whereat one stept to me, and clapt downe my hand gently, desiring me not to doe so. I answered: Aradake Chan[1] had absolutely refused me Iustice; at which he, being by, came in in much feare, calling Asaph Chan, desiring him to hinder me from complaint. I answered: our ships were arriued, and we could not forbeare nor endure such delayes. So they consulted together and called the *Cutwall*, giuing order to execute the Kings command; who that night at midnight beset their Tents, and catched some of them. So that now we shall haue reason.

I had great thanks of all the *Vmreies*[2] for protecting the Queenes ship, and our courtesie to their passengers, which they enformed the King, who tooke it kindly; and they all promised that they were obliged to loue our Nation, and would doe them all seruice; but they wondered we could not gouerne our people, but that theeues could come out without the Kings leaue.

At the Kings rising, Asaph Chan carryed me with him to his retyring place, and there first we translated the Abstract into Persian, to shew the King an houre after; in

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[1] Irádat Khán, of whom see p. 415.

[2] See note on p. 417.

which I inserted the money with some addition,[1] because the King might perceiue was [wee?] brought profit to his Dominions; next the cloath and sorts; then the fine wares in generall: lastly the grosse commodities; desiring his Maiestie to order what he would buy, and to giue vs liberty for the rest. This finished, Asaph Chan renewed the reason why I would speake alone, bad me be free, vowed and protested such friendship as I neuer could expect. I replyed: The reason why I desired it, was to aske his counsell; for it was true I had somewhat, but my vsage last yeare was so bad, that I durst not trust any; but, that he might see how I replyed [relied?] on him, I was willing, on his oath, to reueale it; which he presently gaue. I told him I had a rich Pearle, and some other ropes faire: I knew not whether it was fit to tell the King, lest the Prince were displeased; I told him how in the morning I had been to visite him, and his discourtesie, and my resolution: but that I knew his fauour was so necessary for vs, that I hoped I might recouer it by this one respect that I kept the Pearle for him. This, I said, was my purpose and reason I concealed it: he was father-in-law to him, and fauorite of the King: I was ready to please both, and desired his aduice. He embraced me, and began: I had done discreetly, but I should acquaint neither: if I did, I should neuer want trouble: the King would vse me well, but keepe such a stirre to see it and get it into his hand, according to custome, and then I must sue for mine owne: the Prince was rauenous and tyrannicall, and wearied all Nations. He bade mee steale all ashoare, trust none, and shewed mee many conueyances;[2] bade me observe the vsage of the Portugalls, how they were ransacked; and desired to buy it, which if I would grant it, I should haue money in

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[1] An astoundingly frank admission.

[2] "*Convey*, the wise it call."

deposito, what I should aske; and he would, for this trust of him, sollicite all my desires; that without him I could doe nothing. Now was an oportunitie to make a friend. I answered: I was willing, but I feared hee would reueale it; which hauing receiued his oath, and a ceremony of couenant by crossing thumbes, we embraced. I promised to be directed by him; and he to doe all that I required for the comming vp of the rest: he would take order to giue me *Firmans*: no man should touch any thing, but all come to me, to dispose of at pleasure: The Prince he would reconcile to me, and the next time he visited him, he would take me, and make him vse me with all grace; and for other businesse it should not be in his power to crosse me: but, if he did, he would assigne vs a Syndic,[1] which was in his gouernment, or procure any other Port at my desire: and whatsoeuer I demanded should be performed faithfully. He also aduised me to giue his sister Normahall some toy. He said he would make the King giue me money; to which I answered: I desire you to conuert it into the well vsage of my countrey-men: I asked no more.

Thus we rose, and he carryed me in to the King, with the Note translated, who gaue mee all good vsage; asked if the Arras were a Present. I answered yes; lest it should be seazed, for the Prince was by. In conclusion, hee said hee would buy all the parcell of cloath, and many other things, appointing me to send for it speedily; Asaph Chan to take order for a *Firman* from the Prince.

Thus I had a good night; and I knew, though they are all (   ),[2] yet in this he[3] would deale truely, because it was to helpe himselfe, and durst not betray me till he

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[1] Syndu (*i.e.* Láríbandar) is meant (see p. 122).

[2] Thus in the original.

[3] Ásaf Khán.

had the Pearle, for feare to misse it; nor after, for hauing himselfe betrayed the Prince.[1]

To the Factors at Surat.

(*Addl. MS.* 6115, f. 270.)

Mandoa, 8 October, 1617.

I perceeaue you conceiue that either the Company hath Putt a new authoritie into my handes or that I am very willing to assume one. First, lett me desier you not to mistake mee nor them; they haue giuen no more then I thought euer I had, nor will neuer take more vpon mee, which is, frendly to joyne with all their good seruantes in aduice, not to gouerne or ouerrule nor to doe any thing of myne owne head, except in such case that any by grose misdemeanor should abuse the Company. . . . . I doe first as my opinion deliuer that, if Master Kerridge thinck his authoritie is any way lessened, that he bee persuaded to the Contrarye, for that both his deseruinges and experience will protect him from any such matter. . . . .[2]

If the ship of Goga[3] bee free, I am pleased. If not, before

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[1] On October 11 Roe wrote very hopefully to Kerridge: "It hath pleased God to rayse mee vnexpected frends, soe that I am almost confident to doe all yours and my busines to ease and contentment and that noe reasonable thing wilbe denied mee of the King, who soe gratiously now vseth mee. The Prince I haue yet refused to visitt, but treated by a third Person; I receiued from him a messuage of better tast then former, but not such as I will relie vpon. . . . This I knowe, I shall neuer recouer his hart, but I dare allmost say I shall ease you all, and from the King obteyne more then you expect" (*O. C.*, No. 548).

[2] Roe's remarks on the suspicious attitude of the Company towards him, and on the evils consequent on his powerlessness to control their factors, had had their due effect; and by a letter dated February 6, 1616-17 (no longer extant) the factors at Surat were notified that the ambassador was authorised "to instructe, directe and order all the Factors in the Mogulls Country in all the Affaires and buisines of the said Honourable Company" (see *O. C.*, No. 538). Apparently Kerridge, resenting this, had announced his intention of returning to England, which he was now at liberty to do, as his stipulated period of service was nearly at an end. Roe, who, in spite of their differences, fully recognised Kerridge's abilities and knew the difficulty of replacing him, did his best to dissuade him, assuring him that "you shall all fynde me a tame lyon," and that the newly-granted authority "you shall see I will use with all modestie (or rather neuer lett you see but in case of Necessitie), hoping you will suffer mee to aduise, and either follow it or show mee a good reason wherin I err, which for me is very easie" (Letter of November 8, 1617, *O. C.*, No. 558); and, somewhat grudgingly, Kerridge consented to stop.

[3] Roe, impatient at finding that nothing had been done to secure payment of the debts, in spite of the King's orders, had asked Bangham

shee passe, gett, I pray, a letter into your handes of acknowledgment, to bee sent mee to show the Prince, whose Pride only will take no knowledge of any Curtesye.

The first thing to be Considered is the supply of Persia, which I hould necessarie not to bee neglected, though wee shall runne blyndly on, having no reason from them last yeare imployed. . . . That you may the better vnderstand the Companyes Purposes, I haue sent you two Copies directed to mee,[1] wherby you may see both their desier to follow and procure that trade, the obiections against it and the restrictions of their Conditions; out of which I gather that they suppose yet no vndertaking,[2] but desier some established Conditions and Articles and some assurance of vent of theirs and easie rates of the Comodityes of Persia before they would engage them selues, or at least not farr; which limitations of theirs agreeing with the want of supply in Cargazon . . . I am of opinion that it is fitt to forbare any supply of goodes this yeare; yet if you all thinck otherwise I yeild willingly. But that wee must not lett the Proiect sleepe I am resolute in, first, not to disgrace our Nation; next to releiue our Countriemen, who will expect vs; and to make a judicious experience of the profitts and possibilitye of that trade, for the encouragment or satisfaction of our imployers. But the question is how it may bee done. . . . . Vse your discretions; I will agree, consent too and confirme whatsoeuer Captain Prinne, Master Kerridge and those Merchantes joyned with them shall thinck in this Case most requisite to bee donne; and this is all in that Poynt I can say.[3] I mention not Master Steele for this employment of

on the 3rd (*MS.*, f. 266) to send an express to the General desiring him to seize the Prince's ship at Surat or the Queen-mother's junk, "that by Complaynt hither I may bee questioned for yt. . . . I would deliuer the King the truth of all our vsage and doubt not but to make a good exchainge and to send downe sufficient warrant for all our debtes to gett the shipp cleared. I know wee shall runne some trouble at first by it, but I most; but I care not for any thing they dare doe, if I can bring to passe our owne safety in the end." Apparently the news from Surat had now made it clear that this could not be done.

[1] See the instructions printed in Appendix B.

[2] The Company were, of course, ignorant of the despatch of Connock and his fellow-factors to Jáshak.

[3] The letters brought by Pring's fleet had amply vindicated Roe's authority in this matter. "Persia," he wrote to the factors at Agra, "is wholy referrd to mee, the Company no way thincking any Man had meddled in yt without mee." But, for the reasons stated in the text, and in the absence of any news from Connock, he judged it inexpedient to send any goods this season. In case, however, it should be decided at Surat to send a ship to Jáshak for intelligence, he drafted the instructions which follow the present letter, as also a formal commission (*O. C.*, No. 544), authorising Connock to negotiate a treaty with the Sháh.

These two documents (with the signatures of Pring and Kerridge

Persia suddenly, because I thinck his speedy repayre hither of more vse.

As I was writing came in your seruantes with other letters from England, wherin receiuing from the Kinges Maiestie my gratious Master his fauorable lettres and Instructions,[1] I haue order to prosecute the Proiect of Persia, but still with restraynt only to Conclude and contract, if I thinck it fitt, not to send any goodes vntill the Next Joynt Stock, according to the Companyes order. . . . .

Disperse the Pearle[2] so in stitched Clothes, or the great one in the stock of a Peice, bored and finely stopped and blacked that it cannot bee seene; and if Master Steele will come speedely with them, lett him soe convey these Pearles that hee may passe vp with them. . . . . If one of the swoordes sent mee by the Company may come vp with Master Steele, or any other thing of the Companyes by stealth I shalbe woonderous glad. . . .

INSTRUCTIONS GIUEN TO OUR LOUING FREINDS EDWARD CONNOCKE, Thomas Barker, George Plea and William Bell,[3] Employed in the Seruice of the Honourable Companie of East India, by the Port of Jasques or any other in the Coast of the Shabas.

(I. O. Records: *O. C.*, No. 545.)

1. You shall principally and first reguard the limitations of the Company sent to the Embassador, the copy wherof is your direction, and not enlardge nor swerve from them but in Cases expressed following.

2. You shall well way the obiections sent out of England, especially that which mentioneth a true [truce?] of the Trade if the Grand Sinior and the Sha shall make peace but to haue the ould trade continewed, and soe wee shalbe made a stale and turned out.

3. You shall Judiciouslie consider whither the port of Jasques or any other bee fitt to receiue and secure our shipp vnder a

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added) were accordingly despatched to Jáshak in the *Bee*, which sailed on the 14th November, under the charge of John Hatch, with Edward Monnox and Francis Tipton as factors. Hatch's instructions will be found in *O. C.*, No. 560.

[1] See Appendix B.

[2] Pearls.

[3] Of these four merchants, Connock's brief career in the East is sufficiently described elsewhere; Barker, whom Roe praises as "a sober man and of good stayd judgment," succeeded to Connock's post upon his death (December, 1617), and endeavoured, though in vain, to obtain a fresh grant of privileges from Sháh Abbás; he died on November 30, 1619; Plea, or Pley, who was a cousin of Kerridge, died before Connock; Bell lived long enough to become Agent, but he in turn succumbed to the climate (February 24, 1624).

fort, which admitted, you shall contract to haue such forts repayred and mayntayned at the chardge of the Sha, for which, if required, you shall consent to pay Custome for goods 3 per Cent. (or somewhat more rather then breake), for mony or Boullion nothing, the import beinge sufficient profitt and noe wise prince demandinge that; outward you may insist to pay no Custome, the Sha takinge none at his confine townes of Turky.

4. You must alsoe well consider the Neigborhood and strength of Ormus, whither one shipp may safely trade or not, for that the Chardge of a fleete to defend her will not bee borne, least you fall into our incomoditie at Suratt; and this one thinge I feare aboue all other. The best preuention wilbe if your proceeds can bee readie to bee shipt in tenn daies, wherby no great preperation can be made against you.

5. This Custome beinge paid, you shall agree to passe freely too and froo with all your goods without any New or farther imposition to bee imposed, except it be some customes or toles of priuiledged townes that all subiects pay; which, if reasonable, cannot bee auoyded without trouble and discontent; the same to remayne in your owne power and Custodie without molestation or other pretence of any Gouernor.

6. You shall contract to haue a settled residence within one month Iourny at the farthest from your porte, wher you may reside and whither the silks may bee brought, that you bee not enforced to wander to seeke marketts. For this, Shyras,[1] as I suppose, is most convenient and indifferent for both.

7. You shall article not only to haue liberty to sell your Cloth and Comoditie if you can (which I doubt not they will easely grant), but contract for so much of euery sort at such prises as are limited by the Company to be taken of yearly by the Sha or his marchantes; but for these prises you need not bee bound so strictly as not to sell somewhat vnder if you see it may bee raysed againe in the silkes bought more reasonable, and that it may bee a meane to vent and putt off yours; but in this you cannot fall much, and in barter nothinge, for that the silkes wilbee deare.

8. Whatsoeuer you can contract for, to sell at certeyntie, in English and sowtherne Comodities, it beinge two thirds, you shall condition to bring in one third more in mony of [or?] Boullion, Gould or siluer; and without this proportion at least in goods may bee vented, it is not worth labor; neyther this proportion, except you can thus putt off of clothes and english Comoditymes as one halfe of that two-thirds in goods, the other halfe to be supplyed in spices and Indyan goods, the other third in mony, whereby the retournes in silke may beare the Chardge; but for as much more in proportion as you can.

[1] Shiraz.

9. You must Contract for the price of your silke with the Sha or his merchants, for I am enformed that Comoditie is all the Kings. The price the Company hath limited; but wheras they say they would receiue their silke at one Royall and halfe at watter side the pound, I suppose you may venture to giue that price, or *7s. 6d.* sterlinge, accountinge your Royall at *5s.* At Shiras this you must cast in your sales and in your Chardges downe, which I suppose is not great.

10. You must contract that any English dyinge in any parts of the Shaes dominion, that all his goods, bills and papers may bee free and beecome to the English suruiuing without any molestation or pretence of confiscation whatsoeuer; and if no such English in Company, that the next Magistrat shall take all such goods, monyes and bills into his protection by Inventory and wittnes, and the same to deliuer vpon demand to the next english that shalbe authorised to receiue it; and in Case of any imbezelment, the said magistrat to bee respondent.

11. You shall Article that in places of knowne danger you may at the Chardge of the Country haue sufficient guards to Conduct your goods, or in Case of losse the next towne to bee respondent.

12. That no English bee imprisoned for any debt except prooued by his bill wittnessed before the *Casie*[1] or Ordinarie Notarie of the place where the debt was made.

13. That fresh victualls may bee supplyed to our shipps at reasonable rates and without Customes.

14. These Conditiones granted and signed by the Sha, you shall also haue power to contract one your parts yearly to send a shipp to bringe the said quantities of goods and monys contracted for, or more in proportion if required; and the same monyes to bestowe in raw silkes or such other persian goods as shalbe most convenient for you.

15. That your most Royall Kinge of England will send his letters of Confirmation to make peace, leauge and Amety with the Shaw-bas, and the English nation be readie to doe him all seruice.

Lastly you shall enforme your selues of the prises and requests of all sorts of goods, jewells, druggs and other marchandiz, where to bee had, at what rates, and which way they passe most readely; and study what Comodity may bee found to rayse a stocke, which is the mayne matter to encrease this beginning.

For your Priuat Directions.

1. You shall liue frugally, soberly like merchants without prodigall expences, the Country beeing Cheape; and trauell with as few seruants as may stand with safety.

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[1] *Kázi*, the Indian form of the Arabic *kádí*, "a judge."

2. You shall not bringe vp a Custome of giuen presents to euery Gouernor, nor at Court flourish and braue yt; for I giue it for a rule, you shall meete with a kinge affable and Curteous to strangers, not like our Mogol, but one that will eate vpon any man, greate[1] and gett, and when hee hath left you empty will not know you.[2]

3. The Chardge of your house and trauell I cannot limitt, though Commanded to doe soe; but thinke that a houshould of fiue may honestly passe their ordinary chardge for 100 *li.* sterling per anno, keepinge two horses. In trauell it shalbe allway better to buy then hire your horses or wagons, if your seruants bee carefull.

4. You shall, of all other things, obserue this strictly: that the proceede of your goods, how much or little soeuer, may bee ready to bee shipt at your port the 10th of September.

5. Yf[3] you send by shipping, wheras I mentioned sendinge two merchants in my lettre, I hould it needlesse, only one to carrie these Commissions and Instructions, to bee deliuered to those whome I hope you shall find ready, it beinge just and reasonable that they who haue begune this negotiation should bee esteemed as most worthie and sufficient to continew it. But wheras ther are noe goods sent, I hould it fitt that two or 3 at most remayne to make this triall and to cleare the ould estate aduentured [and?] the proceed, and such as are found vselesse and vnfitt, to returne with the shipp to bee imployd in other seruice; or, if they already in experience find it to bee no fitt place nor course of trade to be continewed, then it shalbe most expedient to reship all your goods and seruants at port, and if any remayning aboue with any parte vnsould, to direct or send one vp with these directions, to make once more a full ouerture, and to aduize ouerland, both to England and India, and, in case of noe hopes to proceed, to passe by Carrauan with his remayner in the finest goods to Agra.

6. If it shall soe happen that Master Connock or any other hath either taken vpon him [the] title of Embassador[4] or otherwise by any prodigality wasted the Companies stocke, not behaueinge himselfe as a merchant in sobriety or in religion and manneres as a good Christian, you shall then all joyntly togither dischardge him, or any such, from any more interest in the Companies seruice in persia [and] shipe him away, requiringe him or any other

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[1] Compare Westmoreland's speech in *K. Henry IV*, Pt. II, iv, 1:

"Wherein have you been gallèd by the king?
What peer hath been suborned to *grate* on you?"

[2] Cp. p. 419. This character of Sháh Abbás is fully borne out by his treatment of Sherley and Cotton, as narrated by Herbert.

[3] This clause is intended for the factors at Surat.

[4] See pp. 395, 422.

so offendinge to obey and submitt himselfe to yeild vp all such authoritie vsurped or giuen, in the name of his Maiestie my Soueraige lord, as hee will answere it at his vtmost perill; if not soe (which wee hope), to continew him in his place and reputation.

In such case, by virtue of the King's authoritie giuen vnto mee his Ambassador, and vnto the cheefe Commander of the fleete, Captain Martin Prinne, and the Cape merchant, Master Thomas Kerridge, by the Committes of the Honourable Company of East India Merchants, wee doe ordeyne and nominate to the excecution of these instructions and to the manadging of the said Companys stocke and affayres, as Cheefe or Cape Merchant or Principall, Thomas Barker; and in case of any defaulte of him in death or otherwise, George Plea, and for his second, William Bell; whom wee require to excecute with all diligence these instructions, and all other to obey them in their place and qualety.

God, whom I hope you will all only rely one, direct and blesse you.

THO. ROE.

I am not so in loue with myne owne opinion that I thinck it ought to bee a law. If you the Cheefe Commander [and] Master Kerridge, Cape merchant, with your Counsailes can add any thinge to these my suddeyne thoughts or in your judgementes find any fitt to bee altered (for god knowes I am no merchant, but follow common reason), I desire you to bee very free. It is the Companies seruice; I will consent vnto it. . . . . neythere doe I thincke it fitt, choosinge sober and discreet men to negotiat any busines, so strictly to tye them to instructions as that they may not haue the vse and libertie of their owne reason and experience; for I well knowe no man can sitt in India and direct punctually busines in Persia, subiect to alterations and new accurents. Therefore that these in generall shall serue only as a rule, wherby to frame their course that shalbe imployed, which in extraordinarye occasion they may alter, vpon the perill of their honesty and discretion.

Dated in Mandoa, 6 October, 1617.

[*October*] 12.—According to promise, Asaph Chan carryed mee to the Prince, into his priuate roome, where I presented him with a small China Gold-chaine,[1] in a China Cup. He vsed me indifferently. Asaph Chan perswaded him to

[1] See p. 424.

alter his course towards vs, telling him hee gained yearely by vs a *Lecke* of *Rupias* at his Port: that it appeared we yearely encreased our trade, and it would in time bring profit: that if the hard measure were continued, we would quit both that and the Countrey, of which inconuenience would ensue: That we were his Subiects (such words he must vse): if, for desire of toyes, hc gaue vs discontent, we would practise to conceale all from him: but if hee gaue vs that libertie which was fit, wee would striue to bring all before him, for that I only studyed his content and fauour: for my particular, that he should receiue mee, when I came to visite him, with honour and according to my qualitie: it would encourage mee to doe him seruice, and content my Nation. Finally, hee moued him for a *Firman* for our present ease, and obtained it, promising all manner of content, and at instant gaue order to Asaph[1] Chan, his Secretary, to draw it in euery point according to my owne desires, and to write a Letter to the Gouernour in recommendations of it: and that I should at all times haue any other Letter, when I called for it. It is easily seene with how base and vnworthy men I traffique. Asaph Chan, for a sordid hope only of buying some toyes, was so reconciled as to betray his sonne,[2] and to me obsequious, euen to flattery; for the ground of all this friendship was that he might buy the Gold taken in the prize,[3] and some other knackes. To which end he desired to send downe a seruant, which I could not deny without losing him I had so long laboured to get; neither was it ill for vs, for his payment is good, and it will saue vs much charge and trouble to sell aboord, especially wine and luggish that spoiles in cariage; and he obtained leaue vnder false colours, and wrote to the Gouernour in our behalfes, with all manner of

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[1] "Afzal" is meant; cp. p. 420.

[2] Son-in-law.

[3] See p. 420, note 2. Its value was 350*l.* (*O. C.*, No. 561).

kindnesse. There is a necessitie of his friendship: his word is law; and therefore I durst not see his vnworthinesse; and hope by this course to winne him, at least to make present good vse of him. Vpon this occasion I moued for a *Firman* for Bengala,[1] which he promised, and would neuer before hearken to. And this effect of his greatnesse [gratefulness?] I found: that hee prosecuted our debters,[2] as if his owne; and, passing by the *Cutwalls* on his Elephant, called to command dispatch, which was an vnusuall fauour; vpon which Groo was imprisoned, and Muckshu had two dayes libertie only to pay vs; and I doubt not but to end that in ten dayes, the summe being foure and forty thousand *Rupias*, and the debters most shifting false knaues in India.

[*October*] 21.—At this instant came in to me from Asaph Chan a seruant, in the name of Normahal: that shee had moued the Prince for another *Firman* that all our goods might bee in her protection, and that shee had obtained it, and was readie to send down her seruant with that, to see and take order for our good establishment: that shee would see that wee should not bee wronged: That Asaph Chan had done this for feare of the Princes violence, and because of his delayes: that now, hee was sure, that his sister had desired to bee our Protectresse, that the Prince would not meddle: that vpon his honour I should receiue all things consigned to mee: that shee had written such a command, and charged her seruant to assist our Factors, so that we should haue neuer more cause to complaine of Surat: Therefore hee desired of mee two or three words to the Captaine and Factors to vse him kindly, and let him buy for her some toyes, such as I would spare. This I durst not deny, though I saw the greedinesse; and gaue

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[1] See p. 349. [2] See p. 415.

him a note on condition to see the Copy of the *Firman*,[1] which was sealed and I could not without leaue; and so he was dispeeded. But you may by this iudge this place, how easie it were to raise a stocke. Last yeare, wee were not looked after. Now, because I translated the Cargazon of fine wares (yet concealed the Pearle) and gaue it to the King, euery one is ready to runne downe to buy; Normahall and Asaph Chan studying to doe me good offices; many great men desiring a letter to send their seruants downe; so that, if you had treble this stocke, it would be bought vp aboord, and saue you custome and carriage and spoile. For which purpose out of this I haue ordered your Factory to sell to the seruants of Normahall and her brother whatsoeuer may bee spared, so that I may bee fitted at Court in any proportion. Thus I shall saue trouble and you charge; the Prince preuented, and our friends confirmed, and yet I hope sufficient for to please the King and his sonne; at the deliuery of which Asaph Chan hath vndertaken the *Firman* for Bengala, or any Port, and a generall command and grant of free Priuiledges in all his Dominions.

[*October*] 24.—The King departed Mandoa foure *Course* and, wandering in the hills, left vs irresolute what way to take, no man knowing his purpose.

[*October*] 26.—I got a warrant for ten Camels at the Kings price.

[*October*] 29.—I remoued after: forced away by the desolations of the place.

[*October*] 31.—I arriued at the Kings Tents, but found him gone with few company for ten dayes a hunting, no

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[1] This and the *farmán* promised on the 12th were sent by Roe to Surat this same day. The latter was "very ample for our generall good vsadge," and ordered (1) that no duty be levied on victuals for the ship; (2) that no delay be used in rating the English goods at the custom-house; (3) that the presents be sent up at once unopened (*O. C.*, No. 552).

man to follow without leaue; the *Leskar* diuided and scattered into many parts; ill water, deare prouisions, sicknesse and all sorts of calamitie accompanying so infinite a multitude; yet nothing remooues him from following this monstrous appetite. Heere I vnderstood the Kings purpose was vncertaine, whether for Agra or Guzerat; the latter giuen out; the former more probable, because his Councell desired to be at rest; but that, howeuer, for the dispatch of my businesse, seeing hee would linger heere about a moneth, I was aduised, and thought it as fit to send for the goods and Presents as to deferre it vpon vncertainties; being that dispatched, I had hope of some quiet in this course. I wore out my body, being very weake, and not like to recouer vpon daily trauell in the fields, with cold raw muddie water.

November 2.—Arriued Richard Steele[1] and Master Iack-

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[1] Steel's mission to Persia and his journey thence overland to England have already been mentioned. The loss of the Court Minutes of this date prevents us from following in detail his subsequent negotiations with the Company, but their main purport can be gathered from a letter written by him to the Court at the end of 1616 or the beginning of 1617, which is printed in *The First Letter Book* (p. 457). In this he refers to his advocacy of "the Trade of Rawsilkes from Persia," and then goes on to unfold four more schemes: first, the transportation of the goods of native merchants from Sind to Persia by sea, to save the long overland journey by way of Candahar; secondly, the carriage to Persia of spices and other commodities of the Far East; thirdly, the convoying of the Gujárát ships to the Red Sea; fourthly, the erection of waterworks at Agra, to supply that city with water from the Jumna, for which he doubted not that "either the king will giue a good gratification, or the people of that Cittye pay quarterly or yearly for yt." In this last project, he was willing to venture 300*l.*, and he was also prepared to serve the Company for five years at 200*l.* per annum. If Roe should be sent to Persia to conclude a treaty, Steel would gladly "keepe him Companye in so worthy a buisines and be a help for obteyning many fauours from the said Sophey."

Apparently the Company were unwilling to take a part in his waterworks scheme; but (in an unhappy hour for their long-suffering ambassador) they engaged his services in a general capacity, and allowed him to take with him a number of workmen on the chance of his being able to interest the Mogul in his very visionary project.

With him came other troublesome adventurers, viz. Captain Towerson and his wife and Mrs. Hudson. Towerson (well known in after

son,[1] with the Pearle and some other small matters stollen ashoare, according to my order, which I receiued and gaue quittance for. With him I had conference about his proiects, which because I would not rashly reiect them, as he had set them afoot, after hauing made him see his fancies and vnderstand the qualitie of these people, how for the water-worke, if to bee effected, it must bee begunne at our charge, and after triall, we shall not enioy the profit, but the Naturalls taught and our people reiected; neither our commoditie vented by it, for that the Lead will treble his price by portage ouer-land, and cannot bee deliuered at Agra so cheape as found there: yet I was content hee should make triall for satisfaction by carrying his work-men to Amadauas, to meete mee there, where by assistance of Mocrib Chan, who only is a friend to new inuentions, I would make offer to the King of their industry and make proofe what conditions may be obtained; but in my iudgement it is all money and labour cast away. The Company must shut their eares against these proiectors, who

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years as the chief of the English factors put to death at Amboyna) had been in the Company's first voyage, and had been chief at Bantam from 1605 to 1608; in 1611 he had commanded the *Hector* in the Eighth Voyage, and on his return had married the widow of William Hawkins. As will be remembered, she was an Armenian girl whom Hawkins had espoused at Agra at the instance of Jahángír; and it was in the hope of pushing his fortunes in India with the help of his wife's relatives that Towerson had persuaded the Company to grant the passage.

Mrs. Towerson brought with her her friend, Mrs. Hudson, and a maid, Frances Webbe. The latter was secretly married to Steel, either before or during the voyage, and their son, born at Surat soon after the ship's arrival, may be safely set down as the second English child born in India (the first was the infant of Sir Thomas and Lady Powell, Sherley's companions).

[1] A gentleman who had come out in Pring's fleet with letters of recommendation from Sir Thomas Smythe and "many honourable lords of his Majestys Councell." He seems to have decided very quickly not to remain in India, for on November 3, 1617, the ambassador wrote (*O. C.*, No. 556) to the Surat factors to assist him "to goe to the Sowthward, if hee desier it, to seeke a better fortune, and to advise him which way he may reape some honest recompence of two years trauell without Iniurie to the Com an."

haue their owne employments more in their ends then their Masters profits. Many things hold well in discourse, and in the theorique satisfie curious imaginations, but in practise and execution are found difficult and ayrie ; especially to alter the constant receiued customes of Kingdomes, where some drinke only raine-water, some of a holy Riuer, some none but what is fetched by their owne cost. His second of reducing the *Caffilaes* and Merchants of Lahor and Agra by the Riuer Indus, that vsed to passe by Candahor into Persia, to transport by sea in our shipping for Iasques or the Gulph, is a meere dreame ; some man in conference may wish it, but none euer practise it. The Riuer is indifferently nauigable downe ; but the mouth is the residence of the Portugalls ; returnes backe against the streame very difficult. Finally, wee must warrant their goods, which a Fleet will not doe ; neither did the Portugall euer lade or noise [*sic*] such goods, but only for those of Sindie and Tatta, that traded by their owne Iunckes, they gaue a *Cartas* or Passe to secure them from their Frigats, and traded with them, for which they payed a small matter, and that onely which came to the purses of the Grand[1] of Diu, Damon and Ormus. Or if all other difficulties were taken away, yet will the Lahornes neuer bee drawne downe, being that *Caffila* consists most of returning Persians and Armenians that knew the passage from Iasques almost as bad as from Candahor ; and for that little on the Confines of Sinde not worth mentioning. Notwithstanding, for his better satisfaction, I was content hee should by experience learne his owne errours, so it were not at the Companies charge ; but I suppose hee will let it fall, not knowing at which end to beginne.

A third proiect for to ioyne the Trade of the Red Sea with this, I recommended to him, for that it was alreadie

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[1] Elsewhere called the Captain.

in vse, and the perill for the Guzurats very apparant;[1] therefore I doubted not some Merchants might be drawne to lade in our ships at freight; whereby wee should make our selues necessary friends to these people, supply our owne defects, saue export of monies, and finally, for this yeare employ one ship of the olde account that should returne in September and receiue the proceed of the remaynes of this ioynt stocke,[2] which will be sufficient to re-lade a great ship; otherwise to transport it ouer will be extreame losse. This I opened and vrged the consequence, shewed which way to effect it, and commended by him to the Commander, the Cape Merchant, and your Factors with all earnestnesse, as by my Letters appeares. The consequence I will make euident in your profit, if they follow it. For were the goods and estate all my owne, if I could not procure somewhat towards charge by freight from the Guzurats, yet hauing so many emptie vessels for so small a stocke, and two fallen into your hands of men of warre, I had rather goe emptie, and for company with them, then to omit that. There are many chances in that Sea and in the way; her returne onely of our owne remaynes shall requite all forbearance, and be readie in time, for employed she must be if we intend to send the rest vpon this account, for that here is no harbourage. At his arriuall, I found him high in his conceits, hauing somewhat forgotten me; Master Kerridge and him at warres, which I endeauoured to temper on all parts; but for his Wife I dealt with him cleerely: she could not stay with our safety, nor his Masters content: that he had ruined his for-

[1] As we have seen, Roe had proposed this to the Company quite independently of Steel.

[2] The first joint stock had been brought to an end, and a second started. The goods belonging to the former had either to be exchanged for native commodities and these sent home, or else they must be carried over ("transported") to the new stock at a valuation. The former course was obviously the more profitable.

tunes, if by amends hee repayred it not: that shee should not trauell nor liue on the Companies Purse (I know the charge of women): that if he were content to liue himselfe like a Merchant, as others did, frugally, and to be ordered for the Companies seruice, and to send home his Wife, he was welcome: otherwise, I must take a course with both against my nature. Hauing to this perswaded him, I likewise practised the discouragement of Captaine Towerson about his Wife (you know not the danger, the trouble, the inconuenience of granting these liberties). To effect this, I perswaded Abraham, his Father in Law[1] here, to hold fast: I wrote to them the gripings of this Court, the small hope or [of?] reliefe from his alliance, who expected great matters from him. Finally, I perswaded his returne quietly. To further this, I wrote to your chiefe Factor that such things as hee had brought and were vendible should bee brought to your vse by Bill of exchange, to such profit for him as both might saue; and this inconuenience you bring on your selues by liberties vnreasonable. But to take tye [anye?] of his trash to lye vpon your hands, vpon any condition I did prohibit.

I find by your Letter your strict command in priuate Trade, as well for your owne Seruants as others; whereby I collect you meane not that he shall haue that libertie hee expects, for he is furnished for aboue one thousand pound sterling, first penny here, and Steele at least two hundred pound, which he presumes, sending home his Wife, his credit and merit is so good towards you, that you will admit in this case to be rid of such cattell. I will not buy,

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[1] This individual appears to be "the Dutchman, the Princes jeweller," mentioned on pp. 189, 332. He was "a Dutchman from Antwerp, called Abraham de Duyts, a diamond polisher, a great friend of the prince Sultan Khurram, in whose service he was" (I. O. Records: *Hague Transcripts*, 1st Series, vol. iii. No. 96). Jourdain refers to him (*Sloane MS.* 858) as the father-in-law of Mrs. Hawkins (now Mrs. Towerson).

but order that it be marked and consigned to you, that you may measure your owne hand. You discourage all your olde Seruants. Some may doe all things for faire words, some nothing for good actions. I could instance some gone home two yeares since that onely employed their owne stocke, did no other businesse, and liue now at home in pleasure; others that raise their fortune vpon your monies, from Port to Port, and returne rich and vnquestioned. Last yeare a Mariner had sixe and twentie Churles of Indico: others many Fardles: a third seuen thousand *Mamudes*, first pennie, in Baroach Bastaes,[1] chosen apart (for hee inuested your Monies, and it is probable hee chose not the worst for himselfe): a fourth,[2] aboue one hundred and fiftie pound, first pennie. These I mention, not for spight, but to moue you to equalitie; neither by their example these may escape, for they swallow you vp; but that an indifferent restraint be executed vpon all.

For the effecting of all these purposes, the sending home the woman and the prosecution of the Red Sea, I sent backe Richard Steele with orders to Surat,[3] hauing altered my purpose of the goods and Presents from the *Leskar*, it beeing declared that the King will for Guzurat, where I haue appointed Richard Steele, after hauing dispatched other matters, to meete, with them and his Ingeniers. I also sent my aduice and directions to Captaine Pring, to take an Inuentorie of all the Monies and goods in the two men of Warre: to make it ouer to your stocke and land it: to sell or dispose of the ships, as his occasion shall require (the monies, if sold, to be put to stocke): to grant

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1 "Baftas."

2 "The Names are omitted" (*marginal note by Purchas*).

3 See Roe's letters to the Surat factors of the 3rd (*O. C.*, No. 556) and 8th November (No. 558), and to Pring on the latter date (No. 559). In the letter to Pring, he suggested that the *Bee* might be sent to Bengal if the *farmán* were obtained.

passage to some of the Chiefes, to entertaine the rest and to referre it to you at home, whom [how ?] you will deale with the Owners that set them out. My opinion is peremptory that their surprize is iust and iustifiable, all their goods forfeited ; if you will restore anything, at your courtesie ; but with the more rigour you deale with these, the better example you will leaue for such barbarous Piracies ; for, if this course be practised, take your leaue of all Trade about Surat and the Red Sea, and let the Company of Turkie stand cleere of the Grand Signors reuenge, and we heere must expect cold Irons.

[*November*] 6.—I went to Asaph Chans, hauing receiued his Passe ; vnto whom I shewed the Pearle according to promise. Though the sorts fit not the Countrey (iust as I was informed hereafter), yet their performance with him gaue him such content that I am confident I may vse Pharaohs words : The Land is before you, dwell where you will, you and your Seruants. For the price wee talked not, but he vowed such [much ?] secrecie ; and for my sake, who haue shewed this confidence in him, hee will giue more then their worth, and not returne one, and pay readie mony, of which hee professeth not to want, and to lend mee what I want. His Sister I haue promised to visit,[1] whom hee hath made our protectresse ; and briefly whatsoeuer contentment words can bring I receiue, and some good effects. When the Presents arriue, assure you I will not be liberall to your losse ; little shall serue. Asaph Chan admonisheth mee himselfe : so they came with somewhat to induce them, as well accepted, bought as giuen ; experience of others makes mee to approue of this doctrine.

Finishing these complements with him in his Bed-chamber, he rose to Dinner, hauing inuited me and my people ;

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[1] A noteworthy instance of Núr Mahál's independence.

but he and (*sic*) friends dined without, appointing mee a messe with him apart, for they eate not willingly with vs; where I had good cheere and well attended; the reuersion for my seruants.[1]

After dinner, I moued Groos debt, told him the delayes. Hee answered: I should not open my lips: he had vndertaken it: that Groo by his meanes was finishing accounts with a Ieweller: that hee had ordered, as money was paid, it should rest in the *Cutwalls* hand for vs; which I found true, and the *Cutwall* promised to finish it in three dayes, desiring mee to send no more to Asaph Chan.

I cannot omit a basenesse or fauour, according as you will interprete it. The King, when his Prisons are full of condemned men, some he commands to be executed, some he sends to his *Vmraes* to redeeme at a price. This he esteemes as a courtesie, to giue meanes to exercise charitie, but he takes the money, and so sels the vertue.[2] About a moneth before our remoue, he sent to mee to buy three Abassines[3] (for fortie *Rupias* a man) whom they suppose all Christians. I answered: I could not buy men as Slaues,

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[1] This appears to be the dinner spoken of by Terry (p. 207):

"Once my Lord Ambassador had an entertainment there by Asaph Chan, who invited him to dinner (and this was the only respect in that kinde he ever had, while he was in East India). . . . . This Asaph Chan entertained my Lord Ambassadour in a very spacious and a very beautifull tent, where none of his followers besides myself saw or tasted of that entertainment. . . . . We sate in that large Room as it were in a Triangle; the Ambassadour on Asaph Chans right hand, a good distance from him; and myself below; all of us on the ground, as they there all do when as they eat, with our faces looking each to the other, and every one of us had his several mess. The Ambassadour had more dishes by ten, and I less by ten, than our entertainer had; yet for my part, I had fifty dishes. They were all set before us at once, and little paths left betwixt them, that our entertainers servants (for onely they waited) might come and reach them to us one after another. . . . . At this entertainment we sat long, and much longer than we could with ease cross-leg'd, but, all considered, our feast in that place was better than Apricius, that famous Epicure of Rome. . . . . could have made with all provisions had from the Earth, and Air, and Sea."

[2] See p. 305.

[3] Abyssinians.

as others did, and so had profit for their money; but in charity I would giue twenty *Rupias* a piece to saue their liues, and giue them libertie. The King tooke my answere well, and bade them to be sent me. They expected money, and I was not hastie; hearing no more of it, I hoped it had beene forgotten; but his words are written Decrees. This night the Officers, seeing I sent not, deliuered the Prisoners into my Procuradors power, and tooke his Screete for sixtie *Rupias*, which at my returne I payed, and freed the Slaues.

To Master Kerridge at Surat.

(I. O. Records: *O. C.*, No. 573.)

Leskar in Rannas Wood,
December 2, 1617.

My last dated the 17th of November,[1] I doubt not hath signified the Kings hast to Amadavaz, which hee Continewes without rest, by soe miserable wayes as I beleeue never Armie or multitude euer went. Hee purposeth to enter it about the 13th Present. . . . . Asaph-chan stands obliged on both sides betweene the Prince and mee; the King drincks and is indifferent. . . . .

. . . . Wee trauell daylie. I haue scarse leasure to eate, or noe Meate, but ill water.[2] A little glasse of yours would helpe a weake stomacke.

P.S.—Abram-chan is called vp, vpon the Complaynts of Shaw-Hussen and Sale-Beage. The *firmaen* was sent before I had knowledg. I went to Asaph-chan about it, who knewe it and

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[1] Not extant.

[2] Terry (*Purchas*, vol. ii, p. 1481) says there were "no lesse then 200,000 men, women and children in this *Leskar* or Campe (I am hereof confident), besides Elephants, horses and other beasts that eate Corne: all which notwithstanding, wee neuer felt want of any prouision, noe, not in our nineteene dayes trauell from Mandoa to Amadauar, thorow a Wildernesse, the Road being cut for vs in the mayne Woods." It will be seen that he differs from Roe as to the discomfort of the journey; but his account (written after his return to England) is continually inaccurate in detail. Thus he speaks of the length of the present journey as nineteen days, which is obviously too short a period; in his later narrative, on the other hand, he gives the date of departure from Mandú as the 20th September, which is over a month too early.

Jahángír's route appears from the *Túzak* to have been by way of Nalcha to Hasilpur, thence to Dhar, and so in a fairly straight line to Ahmadábád.

supposed I was glad, for that hee thought wee could not make soe many Complaynts and the Gouernor honest. I made him vnderstand the Contrarie, and his goodnes and his justice, which hee protests hee will deliuer in his defence; and if hee desier to returne wilbe his frend and helper. . . . .

To Master Kerridge and assistants at Surat.

(I. O. Records: *O. C.*, No. 575.)

The woods, 30 *Course* short of Amadauas,[1]
December 6, 1617.

Yours Nowe receiued of the 21th Nouember mentioneth one of the 9th that neuer came to mee; with this the Copy and Note in English and Persian of what deliuered to Asaph-chans seruant, the weight of Gould, and prises as by Invoyce. . . . . His payment is better then any Mans, though his prises hard made. By this I am sure I have saued Custome, contented a frend, and not borne the hazard of Portage. . . . .

. . . . Your bills for Agra are receiued and mony almost all invested; 200 Camells on the way this 13 dayes; cloth bartered; Creditt for about 25,000 *rupees*, 3 monnths; The Proceede much enlardged, double to former years (as they write), in best Commoditie, and all things ther performed much to my Content, and (I hope) their Creditt and the Companyes Profitt; the Number of Semians enlardged (a new sort of Cloth),[2] and carpetts not yet gotten but in hand. Their day I will not faile on, nor haue they found difficultie, as wee supposed, in trust nor Prises hoysed[3] out of reason; and I make noe question, by this yeares and the Next Practise, to enter soe into good opinion as to buy on tyme for a *leecke* of goods, by which the ships shalbe supplied in tyme, and, if care taken to preserue the foundation, it shall prooue an advantage of better vse then to bee so good husbands as to venture Nothing.

. . . . A *firmaen* from [for ?] Bengala cannot be had while the Prince hath Suratt, vnles wee will quitt it and rely on the other only. Hee pretends that all our fine goods shall come thither and his Port beare the burthen of trash and hinder others. . . .

. . . . For Priuat trade you know my orders, and I the Companyes Pleasure. The Prime Comoditie[4] no man, I hope, will deale in vpon any pretence; cloth, if they doe and consent to acquaynt the factors with it and remitt it to their Masters, it may Passe and by your and my aduise may bee fauored; but for

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[1] From this and from the contents of the letter, it seems probable that the date is wrong, and should really be December 13.

[2] See p. 265. [3] Raised. [4] Indigo.

all such as are obstinate, I require execution of Commission to the vtmost, notice of their Names, and I will vse my Creditt to bring them to repentance by losses. . . . .

Master Steele hath satisfied him easely that loues not Contentions. But I can discerne woords and shawdowes from truth and substance. I hope well of all men, of him, and would not put my finger to the ruyne of any. I cannot so soone help a man as destroy him; it is a tender thing in a mans conscience. Yet I am not soe easye as to bee abused much. You shall see I see both wayes and will choose the best.

. . . . Abulhassan[1] pretends to bee sorrie for the Princes vsage of vs; sayes hee dare not stur in his[2] owne *Prigony*,[3] but if hee weare remooued would make a New Suratt for vs at Swally. To Night, I will question with him of that dissimulation; but I knowe the Complaynt came to the Prince, by him to the King, and disputed before my face not long since; to which Abulhassan sayd nothing nor seemed to bee concerned in yt. The King was not Pleased at the folly, but, after his Manner, gaue vs no satisfaction, but only bad his sonne vse strangers better.

I Complayned of this New trouble before your lettres arriued; am promised a lettre downe of New fauour, but on the way vnpossible to sollicite it. If that were the woorst, to take away their[4] weapons and restore them, except they were more gouerned, itt matters not; or if you would shew them in a glasse their folly, The Generall may disarme their boates and, beeing demanded reason, may say wee doubt they are bound for the Conquest of England and the taking of London.

. . . . Mesolapatan is a New question. I thought them soe bare as they Needed noe shipp to fetch any Proceede. They speake of some on Creditt; I knowe not what it is, nor whether it be fitt goods [for one ship ?], much lesse two. In this Poynt I wish your due consider[a]tion; for, if the factorie shalbe continued as Profitable, and that bee the Companyes intent, some supply they must haue, but whether from vs or Bantam I knowe not Custome[5]. . . . I thinck if the stocke were kept togither, and that disolued, it were better for the owners. But this must come from themselues; I will goe noe further then Mogolls India.

. . . . Your despatch for Persia I understand; but sawe noe cause to spare two factors to Carry lettres,[6] both, it seemes, soe sufficient as to doe all if the woorst happen. All I shall farther add in it is to putt you in mynde it is to mee his Maiestie hath

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[1] Ásaf Khán (see p. 115). [2] The Prince's. [3] See p. 415.

[4] The English sailors' (see p. 450).

[5] Pring, on his way from Surat to Bantam (April, 1618), detached the *Bee* with a supply of money for Masulipatam (*O. C.*, No. 784).

[6] See p. 433.

referrd it, and the Company entrusted it. I cannot answere for England vntil the returne of this voyadge to any satisfaction. That therfore I expect the first sight and receipt of all that comes, except your priuat lettres and accounts of sales for the bookes perfecting; but relations, treaties, Priuiledges, Proiects and all of that qualetie, are noe mans to iudg off but myne; and I shall either receiue them whole or not Meddle in them. . . . .

Thus I conclude answer to your lettre, wherin I fall into consideration of the Paynes by myne owne wearines. You may suppose I write not at ease in a house; remooue euery other day; forgett to answer none; haue much to prepare for England, and no helpe. Therfore what is written in hast must not bee seuerly Censured. I am long in some instances; it is to lett you see my motions come not at adventure without Consideration, though they bring not allway their reasons.

Nowe I come to our estate here. I haue recomplayned; to night visitt the King with his Maiesties lettre translated; deferred till Nowe for extremetie of wayes, that made all in confusion; at which tyme I hope to dispute our owne Cause anewe. Asaph-chan remaynes the same; hath feasted mee, and wee meete often. The Prince against his will shalbe left at Amadauaz; hath that Gouerment geuen him and Cambaya. This is doubtles an ill signe that the King remooues him. It is out of doubt true. The good to vs is: Asaph-chan hath enformed hee[1] quittes diuers small *jaggers*[2] to the King, of which hee[3] will procure Suratt may bee one, which hee will take; and then I doubt not to see all amended. This will suddenly bee tryed, and vpon these changes the Prince will not haue cause of oposition. Asaph-chan then promiseth to procure the *firmaen* for Bengala (for hee suspects not vs to seeke it to betraye Suratt, but to encrease our trade) and all other my iust demands, and voweth hee will make Englishmen content and happy. Thus in New hopes I rest a tyme; and so I must from writing, for I am not able scarce to write my Name. I Committ you all to Gods Mercy.

[*December*[4]] 10.—I visited Asaph Chan, hauing receiued aduice from Surat of a new *Firman* come downe to disarriue [disarme] all the English, and some other restrictions of their libertie; vpon a complaint made to the Prince, that we intended to build a Fort at Swally, and

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[1] The Prince. [2] *Jágírs*—estate rentals. [3] Ásaf Khán.

[4] In this and the following entry, Purchas merely says "the tenth" and "the thirteenth," which would imply the tenth and thirteenth of November. The exact order of events is not clear, but from Roe's letters it seems most probable that "December" is right for this entry, as it certainly is for the next.

that our shippes were laden with Bricke and Lime for that end (which suspition arose only by bringing a few on shoare to found the ships bell[1]) ; yet the Alarum came to Court so hot, that I was called to answere; which, when I made it appeare how absurd the feare was, how dishonorable for the King, how vnfit the place for vs, without water or harbourage, yet the iealousie was so strongly imprinted, because formerly I had demanded a Riuer by Goya [Goga] for that end,[2] that I could hardly perswade the Prince we intended not some surprise. By this you may iudge how easie it were to get a Port for our selues, if you affected it, which I can[3] neither so profitable for you, nor a place tenable. Notwithstanding all remonstrances, this furnace must be demolished, and a *Haddey* of horse sent downe to see it effected. The disarming of our men, being all that our people stomacked (though it was only to leaue their weapons in the Custome-house, and that only of the ships company), though it were quieter for vs, except they were often more ciuill: yet I told Asaph Chan wee would not endure the slauery, nor I stay in the Countrey: that one day the Prince sent a *Firman* for our good vsage and grant of Priuiledges, the next day countermanded it; that there was no faith nor honour in such proceedings, neither could I answere my residence longer. He replyed at night

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[1] "Moreover, our Bell beinge broken, there was a few bricks landed at Suallie to new cast the bell, at which ther was great Murmuringe amongst the Countrie People, who said we went aboute to buyld a Castell; the which some did write to the Kinge, and the Kinge tould it the Prince, who presentlie sent downe a chiefe man from the Courte to forbidd vs buyldinge our Castle and also to take order that not aboue 10 Englishe should be suffred to com into the towne together and those 10 to leaue their Armes at the customhouse; and the Gouernour, Abram Chan (who to his Power hathe bin ever a freind to our nation) was in danger to be displaced, if not quite thruste oute, for that he had not written his master of our buyldinge a Castle (in the Ayre)".—Monnox to the Company, December 28, 1617 (*O. C.*, No. 586).

[2] See p. 467.

[3] Thus in the original. The text is evidently corrupt; but the sense is clear enough.

hee would mooue the King, before the Prince, and giue me answere.

[*December*] 13.—I reuisited Asaph Chan. He told me wondrous matters of the Kings affection to my Soueraigne, to my Nation, and to mee: that hee had ventured the Princes disfauour for our sakes, and had full promise for a new reformation: but because he feared the Princes dealing, he gaue me this assurance, that he would take the *Prigany* of Surat, which the Prince must leaue, being made Gouernour of Amadauas, Cambaya, and that Territorie;[1] and to giue me satisfaction that he had not dissembled with me, he desired me to come at night to Court, and bring the King my Masters Letter[2] and the translation: the oportunitie was faire to deliuer it; vpon the occasion of which he bade me persist in my complaints, and offer to take leaue: I should then see what he would say for vs, and so I should beleeue my selfe. At euening I went to the King, it beeing a very full Court, and presented my Letter, which (the King sitting on the ground) was layd before him; and he, busie, tooke no great notice. Asaph Chan whispered his Father in the eare, desiring him to reade the Letter, and to assist vs, for that he might better begin that then himselfe. Etimon Dowlet tooke vp both Letters, gaue the English to the King, and read the translated; to which when the King had answered many words of complaint, to that point of procuring our quiet Trade by his authoritie among the Portugals, he demanded if he [we?] would make peace. I answered: his Maiestie knew long since I offered to be gouerned by him, and referred it to his wisdome, and had expected his pleasure. He replied: hee would vndertake absolutely to accord vs, and to make agreement in his Seas,[3] which he would by answere to my Masters Letters signifie, and therein giue him content in

[1] See p. 449. [2] Of this no copy is extant. [3] Cp. p. 471.

all other his friendly desires. Notwithstanding, I demanded leaue to goe before to Amadauas to meet the Kings Presents and to prepare for my returne. Vpon which motion, the question grew betweene the King and the Prince, who complayned that he had no profit by vs, and that he was content to be rid of vs. Asaph Chan tooke the turne, and very roundly told the King that we brought both profit to the Port, to the Kingdome, and securitie: that we were vsed very rudely by the Princes seruants, and that it was not possible for vs to reside without amends: it were more honourable for his Maiestie to license vs [to depart ?] then to intreate vs so discourteously, for it would be the end. The Prince replyed very cholerickly that he had neuer done vs wrong, and had lately giuen mee a *Firman* at his entreatie. He replyes: It is true, you gaue a *Firman* to his content, and in ten dayes sent another, in effect, to contradict it: that he stood surety between both: had vndertaken from the Princes mouth our redresse, but now he had the shame and dishonor of it: that he ought me nothing, nor I him: he spake for no ends but for the Kings Honor and Iustice; in that which he[1] said that he did vs no wrong, he must appeale to me, who complayned that our goods were taken by force, that two yeeres past Rulph [Zulphercarcon] had begun it, would neuer pay vs, and his Officers continued euery shipping: that if the Prince were weary of vs, he might turne vs out, but then he must expect we would doe our owne Iustice vpon the Seas. He demanded if the King or Prince gaue mee meanes to eate, or who did? That I was an Ambassadour and a stranger, that liued and followed the King at great charge: that if our goods were forced, and after we could get neither goods nor money, how should I liue and maintayne myselfe?

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[1] The Prince.

This deliuered with some heate, the King catched the word, Force, Force, redoubling it to his sonne, and gaue him sharpe reprehension. The Prince promised to see me paid all : that he had taken nothing, but only caused the Presents to be sealed, because his Officers had no Custome, and desired to haue them opened before him. I absolutely refused it ; also I told the King I would only doe my dutie to my Master, in deliuering his Presents free : after I would giue the Prince all content.

Etimon Dowlet, who is always indifferent, and now by his sonne made our friend, whispered with the King, and read a clause or two in my Masters Letter ; at which the King made his son rise and stand aside. Asaph Chan ioyned in this priuate conference (which they told me was for my good) and in conclusion the Prince was called, commanded to suffer all the goods to come to my hands quietly, to giue me such priuiledges as were fit, which Asaph Chan should propound. The Prince would not yeeld the Presents except Asaph Chan would stand surety that he should haue a share, which he did ; and then we all agreed vpon that point ; the King giuing mee many good words, and two pieces of his *Pawne*[1] out of his dish, to eate of the same he was eating. Then I tooke leaue to goe to Amadauas to meet the Presents ; and so we parted. At night, I set on my iourney, leauing my Tents, supposing the next day to reach the Citie ; but I rode two nights, a day and a halfe, with one baite vpon straw, and the fifteenth at noone arriued at Amadauas.[2]

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[1] Betel-leaf, chewed by the natives with the dried areca-nut. The Hindustáni term here used is in full *pán-supári*, which is generally employed for " the combination of betel, areca-nut, lime, &c., which is politely offered (along with otto of roses) to visitors, and which intimates the termination of the visit" (Yule and Burnell's *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 522).

[2] Ahmadábád, the principal city of Gujárát, where Roe spent (with a short interval) the remaining period of his attendance on the Great Mogul. It is situated on the left bank of the Sábarmati river,

To Master Kerridge and assistants at Surat.

(I. O. Records : *O. C.*, No. 578.)

Amadavaz, 18 December, 1617.

Your lettres come soe quick vpon mee in this huddle of trouble and journy that I know not which or what is answered; but rather double then omitt any thing necessarie.

That of the 11th dicto by your expresse touchd in part, by which you vnderstand of my arriuall in Amaduaz. The Complaynts therin I cannot speedelie redresse, the King beeing turned to Cambaya and not expected here this 13 dayes, at which tyme I will soe lardgly enforme in all kinds as, if ther bee any honor or sence or Common vnderstanding, I shall procure amends or licence to depart.

The Motion to leaue the bringing of Corrall or any comoditie that will sell[1] is all one as to mooue the expulsion of vs; for if wee bee debarrd our trafique free, wee will not stay. My answere the last brought round: if they seeke our embarque[2] wee will trade into the Red Sea in spight of them and vpon them. Vnlesse wee professe this, they will bee still cauilling.

I Perceave, by some heare, a resolution in Captain Towerson to goe to the Sowthward; to which I neuer can nor will consent. . . . Hee is here arriued with many seruants, a trumpett, and more shew then I vse. . . . With him is arriued Captain Newse,[3] of whose Comming the Commander aduised mee noething; thence I gather it was without his knowledge. Hee is very wellcome to mee, seeing hee is come; but I mannerly refused it to him, for reasons not expressed which were very Materiall. I had professed to the King, to giue him the more feeling of our seruice and affection, that wee had taken the ships and their Company that offered to robb the *Beagams*[4] junck. Our enemies replied to my face it was a tricke: that wee were all theeues: now wee could not doe it faierly, and therfore sett a Counterfeyt show vpon it. The King questioned how any English durst offer such an

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about fifty miles from the sea; and was at this time a large and populous city, with flourishing manufactures and a considerable commerce. A good description of it is given by Della Valle (vol. i, p. 95), who was there in February, 1623.

Mukarrab Khán, the viceroy, had furbished up the royal quarters for the reception of the emperor; but Jahángír was not at all pleased with Ahmadábád as a place of residence, and in his memoirs complains bitterly of the hot winds, the all-pervading dust, and the scanty and disagreeable water (Elliot and Dowson's *History*, vol. vi, p. 358).

[1] Apparently the Surat merchants had objected to the competition of the English, and had endeavoured to secure its limitation.

[2] Embargo.

[3] See p. 420.

[4] The Begum's, *i.e.*, the Queen Mother's.

Iniurie and come soe bouldly, if not by Consent of his Maiestie; which when I had answered I deliuered on my Creditt that what wee had done was Bona fide and sincerly: that the Captains were made Prisoners in our ships, kept in Irons: and that I would soe send them to his Maiestie, who would make them an example of such bouldnes to dare to disturbe the Allies of his Crowne. Hee is knowne here by Merchants come vpon the same junck and in Companie with him, who I doubt not will betray him, and in him mee. With what face can I answere this if I bee questioned? To send him back is discurtesie, beeing admitted as Captain Towersons Companion; nor what to doe in it doe I Well knowe. I should bee much eased if you were more reserued in this kind belowe. Hee is very conformable to all reason; offers to returne; but it is knowne already, and I may haue the shame, you the losse, of that curtesie which before was thought wee had done them.

Since, on the 16, arriued with mee safely your goods and Presents and all the Company (more then I wished); and for Master Steeles reasons for them, they are veary carefull ones, wher there is noe Neede. I am sorry for all such Chardges, that wee can doe nothing without the vtmost of expence. They remayne with mee yet vnopened, by reason of the Kings absence; and I doubt not but to haue Peace with them and by them. With these are arriued Master Steeles Artificers, with whom I haue spoken and tould them my judgment. Hee is confident to doe somwhat woorthy his labor and answerable to his hopes; if I barely sayd noe, hee might lay his owne errors vpon mee. Therfore I haue consented hee shall haue a little Roome apart, keepe house with them, ouersee them, and sett them to woorke in Triall two Months. If hee can doe it, hee shall haue all the honor and due Prayse; if not, they shall returne and hee will vndergoe the shame. This will cost the Company some mony, against my will, but they that adventure must sometymes Pay for their crudulitie, and his owne reckonings shalbe apart. Secondly, hee tells mee hee hath brought vp some Merchaunts that sue for Passadge into the Red Sea and promise to drawe in many More; to which I harken most willingly, for ther shall neuer bee any good trade in Guzeratt for vs, nor any thing tye them by the Noses, but our Mingling with them in the Red Sea or eating them out of that trade and seruing them by necessitie of what they want. I knowe that their trade in the Red Sea without vs is more profitable for them, and in hope of that wee liue as wee doe. But it is all Naught; wee must teach them by constraynt and Necessitie, and talke with them of leauing that trade when wee haue possessed it to our gaine and their want; then will they begg the Conditions which they Now will not harken after. In this employment I haue both interested Master Steele and designed him the Cheefe Merchant; for lesse then some Cheefe will not content him, and it

cannot bee in this countrie to the Iniurie of any. I hope the Comander, you, and hee will finde some employment of a shipp that way. If it were myne owne busines I would goe spend tyme only for hopes, though I had noe helpe of the Guzeratts; and this I haue often declared.

. . . . The supplyes for Agra wilbe lardger then your Monies, Master Fettiplace hauing assured me of 25,000 *rupees* Creditt, and if tymely will goe farther. Hee vrdgeth keeping Creditt soe pressiuely, and it is of such consequence to vs, that I haue sould the great Pearle for 12,000 *rupees*,[1] without abatement to bee payd 10,000 *Iangeries* in Agra; which mony I haue made vp. I knowe the Pearle somwhat better woorth, not much, neither could I euer procure it esteemed at that rate; but for our Present vse, and for some other very good reasons, I haue yeilded to Please in it Asaph-chan. Considering the Royall of Eight at Suratt and in England the Price equalls almost 1,400*li.* in that money at 4*s.* 6*d.*, and is Paid clear in Agra without abatement of exchange with *Shraff*, which is profitt allsoe. It Paid noe custome, and cost in England, as Master Steele avowes, but 1,000*li.* This made mee yeild; els I would haue ventured to haue taken it back. . . .

January 8, 1617-18.—There was some question about Presents. The Prince asking for them, I answered: They were readie, if hee pleased to receiue his. Then hee demanded: Why I brake his seales?[2] I told him: It was dishonorable for me to bring a Kings gifts in bonds, and great discourtesie to set seales vpon them: I expected and attended his licence twentie daies, but seeing no hope, I was enforced to doe it. Some heate began; at which appeared a Gentleman of the Kings, who was sent to obserue the passage, and to stickle,[3] and told vs both the

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[1] Apparently these were *khazána* ("treasury") rupees (the usual currency at Ahmadábád), six of which were equal to five *Jahángíris* (see p. 352). Reckoning the latter at 2*s.* 7*d.*, the pearl fetched only 1,291*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Roe appears to have reckoned the 12,000 rupees as equal (roughly) to 6,000 rials, which at 4*s.* 6*d.* apiece would be equivalent to 1,350*l.* Steel was wrong as to its cost, which was 2,000*l.* (see *Court Factory Journal* in I. O. Records); there was thus, even on Roe's reckoning, a considerable loss on the sale.

[2] See p. 453. It would seem that the presents had been sent up from Surat sealed with the Prince's seal; and Roe, after applying in vain for permission to open them, had cut the bonds and taken possession.

[3] To accommodate matters. The old meaning of "stickler" was one who attended on combatants, to see fair play and part them when they had fought enough.

King commanded wee should come before him at a Garden, where he sate, a *Course* out of Towne, vpon the Riuer. So the Prince tooke his *Palankee*, and I a Coach, well attended by seruants both of father and son. When I came to the gates the Women were entring, and then no man can but the Prince; who made within a bitter complaint against mee; that I had dared to cut his seales, and to take out what I list. Asaph Chan was called for, who was my suretie, and the Prince laid it on him; hee, as the custome is, denyed it, excused himselfe; yet I had not accused him, but tooke it vpon me, as knowing my selfe better able to beare it, and that he would denie it. Then I was sent for to the water-side, where the King sate priuately, where I entered, with mee the Presents; but the King was within amongst his Women. Asaph Chan chafed at mee for breaking his word; told mee the Prince had shamed him. I replyed by Iaddow: You know I had your consent; this man is witnesse. He denyed it to vs both. I replyed: Though I would not cast it vpon him, it was true, for I had witnesse. Iaddow would not returne the answere, but told me he might not tell him he lyed to his face. And this is vsuall; if any command come from the King that he forgets, he that brought the message will disauow it. I bore vp as high as I could. The great men told me it was a great affront; no man durst doe such a thing. Others smiled. I answered: Not so great as the Prince had done me often.

Thus we spent the day, and the King appeared not, but priuately stole away, leauing vs all sitting in expectance. At night word came the King was gone, and I offered to goe home; but was so well attended, I could not but by force. In the way new messengers came to seeke mee, and I arriued backe at the Kings Court, not hauing eaten or drunke; but the King was not come in, nor could I get loose of my attendants, but they vsed me very respectfully.

We sate an houre. Suddenly newes came to put out all lights, the King was come; who entred on an open Waggon, with his Normahall, drawne by Bullocks, himselfe Carter, and no man neare. When hee and his Women were housed, the Prince came in a horse-backe; and entring in, called for me. I found them alone with two or three Capons;[1] and about mid-night the King set on it an angrie countenance: told mee I had broken my word: that he would trust me no more (the Prince had desired him to doe so). I answered as roundly: I held it fit to giue freely: I had done nothing of offence in my owne iudgement: if their customes were other, it was ignorance, and I must bee pardoned. Wee had many disputes. At last the Prince interposed, offered his friendship, and wee were all reconciled fully, and promises too large. Then I opened the Chests, gaue the King his Presents, the Prince his, and sent in that for Normahall. We were aboue two houres in viewing them. The Arras he tooke well, but said it was course, desired to haue a Sute of such as the sweet Bagge; and wee concluded that in the morning I should come to the Prince, that he should be my Protector and Procurator. The goods (except Three things) more then[2] Presents were there returned mee; for those three the Prince told me he would pay, seeing his father tooke them.

January 10.—I went to the Prince, was receiued with all fauour, had order for a *Firman* for the man murthered,[3] a declaration of his reconcilement in publike, command to all his Officers to take knowledge, and to his chiefe *Raia*[4] to be my Procurator, and to draw what *Firmans* so euer I desired. I presented Captaine Towerson and some English, whom hee vsed with grace; and for a signe of

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[1] Eunuchs. [2] Other than.

[3] Presumably in some brawl at Surat.

[4] Possibly Rája Bikramájít, who was afterwards left at Ahmadábád as the Prince's deputy.

this peace, gaue me a Cloth of siluer cloak, and promised to be the Protector of our Nation in all things. I told him of Master Steele and his Work-men. Hee desired me to bring a small Present to his father at night: hee would present them; which I did. Hee kept his word, and spake for vs to him, who was willing enough. I presented Captaine Towerson to the King, who called for him vp; and after a few questions rose. At the *Gushel Choes*, I presented Master Steele and his Work-men. The King sate in a Hat I gaue him all night, called for Master Paynter,[1] and after much Discourse, gaue him ten pounds, and promised to entertayne the rest.

January 13.—The Dutch came to Court with a great Present of China ware, Sanders,[2] Parrats and Cloaues; but were not suffered to come neere the third degree. At last the Prince asked me who they were. I replyed: The Hollanders resident in Surat. Hee demanded if they were our friends. I replyed: They were a Nation depending on the King of England, but not welcome in all places: their businesse I knew not. He said: for being our friends, I should call them vp; and so I was enforced to send for them to deliuer their Present. They were placed by our Merchants, without any speech or further conference.[3] Finally I had all granted I desired. I attend the performance and money. And thus I conclude that without this contestation I had neuer gotten anything; for I told the Princes Messenger, in the presence of all the English,

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[1] The painter brought by Steel; see p. 477. [2] Sandalwood.

[3] Cp. p. 469. The Dutch embassy was headed by Pieter Gilles van Ravesteyn (see p. 234), whose report to the Directors at Amsterdam will be found in *Hague Transcripts*, 1st Series, vol. iii, No. 96. He says they were well treated, and obtained a *farmán* from the Prince granting them a number of privileges, though not all for which they had asked. He records a conversation he had with Roe, who complained of the hostility of the Dutch towards the English in the Moluccas, and said that King James was very angry about it, and would take steps to avenge his subjects' wrongs; "but," adds the Dutchman, "I am not at all afraid of that."

that if he vsed force to me or my goods, he might doe his pleasure, but it should cost bloud: that I would set my *Chop* vpon his Masters ship, and send her for England.

January 18.—I receiued from Surat of the imprisonment of Spragge and Howard at Brampoore, their house and goods seized, their liues in question, for drinking with the *Cutwall* in their house: that one of the *Cutwalls* men dyed that night, vpon which they stand accused of Poyson: and the *Cutwall*, to free himselfe of comming into the house, pretended that he came to fetch a mans wife away from Thomas Spragge. What the truth is I know not. Information is come to the King against them; and I went to the Prince (who vndertooke all my causes) but could not speake with him. With the same came complaint of a force vsed to the *Caffila* vpon the way, notwithstanding the *Firman* sent, by the *Raia* of the Countrey.[1] In both which to night I will make petition to the King. My toyle with barbarous vniust people is beyond patience. At the Princes I found the *Firman* promised, drawne, but halfe the conditions agreed on left out; vpon which I refused it, and desired nothing but leaue to depart to treat with these in the Sea.

January 21.—A command to free the English and their goods, and that if the Moore came into their house to drinke, if they killed him with a Dagger, hee had his iust reward. The second to *Raia* Partapshaw, to repay vs all exactions whatsoeuer: not to take hereafter any dutie vpon the way towards his Port:[2] and in case of failing, that he would deliuer his sonne into my hands.[3] He

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[1] Partab Sháh (see p. 87). As the Surat-Burhánpur road ran partly through his territory, he claimed the right of levying a toll at Daita. Roe, however, had procured a *farmán* freeing the English from this imposition (Roe to Surat, October 21, 1617.—*O. C.*, No. 552).

[2] The Prince's.

[3] Partab Sháh had visited Jahángír at Mandú, and had left his son in the Mogul's hands as a hostage.

further ordered the deliuery of the *Firman* for Surat, the Articles by mee demanded, and to pay vs all our debts of Surat, and to cut it off vpon his *Mancipdaries*, that had taken that, without delay. He called to account his old Customers, charged the new to vse vs as his friends, shewed as much fauour publikely as I could require. I mooued expedition. He replyed: To morrow by nine in the morning all should be deliuered into my hands.

January 22.—I went my selfe to receiue them; and carryed the Merchants with some Pearle that the Prince had bin instant to see, pretended to be Master Towersons. But he had receiued some vncertaine information of Pearles to the value of twentie or thirtie thousand pound, which he hoped to draw from vs. When his Secretarie saw the small sorts, hee replyed: The Prince had *Mands* of these: if we brought no better commoditie, wee might be gone, he cared not for our custome. How basely false and couetous are those of Iewels, you may iudge. I vndertooke reply: that I had procured those from a Gentlewoman to satisfie them: if they liked them not, they could not be made better: it was inciuility to be angry with Merchants for their goodwill; but told him I came for my *Firmans*, and expected them. I was answered: Wee had deceiued their hopes, and the Prince would deceiue ours: *Firman* I should haue none: I had asked leaue to depart: I might come and take leaue when I pleased. I answered: Nothing contented mee more, but that I would visit their vniustice in an indifferent place: that I would speake with the King, and depend no more on them, for I saw all was couetousnesse and vnworthinesse. So I rose and parted. But he recalled me to come to the King and Prince together the next day: I should haue content.[1]

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[1] Here Purchas's extracts come to an abrupt end. "For the whole," he says, "my selfe could haue wished it, but neither with

INSTRUCTIONS TO THE CHEEFE FACTORS THOMAS BARKAR AND EDWARD MONNOX IN PERSIA.[1]

(I. O. Records: *O. C.*, No. 608.)

Amdavaz, February 4, 1617 [-18].

1. First, you shall bee instant with the Sha to take some Course with the Portugall to enforce him to consent to a free trade, that the Seaes and Ports may bee open; which may bee effected by forbidding all releefe to bee transported to Ormus from the Mayne or any other of his Dominion, or els by fortyfying some Port, if any sufficient for shipping, or some Road where itmay both Command the traders and they the sea betweene them.

2. You shall avow Connaught to haue beene a Messinger sent from the King, though not with absolute Power as Ambassador to treate and Conclude: but that if the Sha shall fullfill the desiers of the English, his Maiestie will send ample authoritie further to Contract with him: in the meane tyme that hee hath giuen mee full Power to Conclude in these Poynts following and to Confirme those treaties already begunn by Edward Connaught, to which you shall propound:

3. That his Maiestie bee Pleased to bartar yearly for some Certayne quantetie of silke, whatsoeuer hee please vnder 8,000 Bales, to bee bought of him at 6*s.* 6*d.* the Pound, to bee deliuered by his Merchants at Xiras; for which hee shall receiue pay: one third money; one third Cloth, Tynne, quicksiluer or any such English goods as hee shall require, at the Prises made by Edward Connaught, to say, Cloth at 37 *shahees*[2] the yard, the rest as you fynd the marketts; one other third in spices, sugars, gynger,

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the Honourable Company nor else-where could learne of it: the worthy Knight himselfe being now employed in like Honourable Embassage from his Maiestie to the Great Turke."

[1] The *Bee* had returned from Jáshak in January, bringing news of the concessions obtained from the Sháh by Connock, and of the death of the latter. The concessions, however, did not cover all the points stipulated for in the Company's recent orders. Roe therefore issued the present instructions to Barker and Monnox to negotiate further with the Sháh. It was intended that the *Anne* should take them to Jáshak on her way to Mocha, but (as will be seen later) this was found to be impracticable. The document was therefore (as the endorsement shows) sent to Kerridge to be forwarded overland "by way of Sind." Later in the year, upon the arrival of Bonner's fleet at Surat from England, the *Expedition* was sent to Jáshak, where she arrived on November 22, and was laded with 71 bales of silk which the factors had in readiness for shipment. On her way to Persia, she surprised two Portuguese ships of considerable value (*O. C.*, No. 777).

[2] *Sháhis*, four of which went to an *abbási*, and fifty *abbásis* to the

steele, Cloth, and *shashes* of Indya, such kynds and sorts as his Maiestie shall nominate; and ther, at Xiras, shall receiue the said goods in bartar yearly in the Months of Nouember, December, January, February, March or Aprill.

4. That hee shall giue you full Priuiledges for a staple and standing Mart at the Citty of Xiras, wher it shalbe lawfull for you to sell, bartar and trade with any of his subiects or other inhabitants or Merchants in his Dominions residing, all such surplus of goods as you shall haue landed more then that which his Highnes contracted for; and shall make declaration vnto all his subiects that it shalbe lawfull for them thither to passe downe with their silkes or other goods to sell or bártar with the English.

5. That you may att all tymes haue free Passadge with your goods to the sea syde, and a Place of securitie ther granted yóu, as well for the goods you shall land as for such you buy and shall bring downe to attend for your fleete, vpon such Conditions as it hath Pleased him to grant to the English by the Negotiation of Edward Connaught.

6. Having thus Contracted for the sure vent and Investments of goods on both Parts, you shall haue Power to signe by this my Commission on our Parts to performe the said Contract (the Perills of the sea only excepted) and to Couenant in my Name in the behalfe of his Maiestie that by the Next shipping that shall arriue after the returne of this contract, his Highnes shall receiue the Confirmation both of the former and these Present conditions vnder the great seale of our Soueraygne Lord his Maiestie of great Brittayne.

7. You shall haue full and due reguard in this negotiation to the Instructions giuen Edward Monnox, as well from the Honourable Companie as from mee, and in all Poynts as far as you may obserue the same.

8. You shall prepare what proceed soeuer of silkes and goods to bee ready in Mogustan, free and vncharged, or, if with security, at Iasques by the 20 of August; and you shalbe very warie in contracting vpon Creditt with the Sha for more goods, or for other species of Payment, then you are sure you shalbe able to satisfye, vntill full aggreation[1] and advise come from the Company; except alway if the Sha will beare the adventure of any Bales of silkes to bee shipt for England and to bee payd vpon the returne of the said goods arriued in England, in which case I am of opinione it is also vnfitt to grant Passadge of any his Mer-

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tomán. Steel (*First Letter Book*, p. 462) reckons the *sháhi* as equal to fourpence, and this makes the *tomán* 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*—exactly the value given by Herbert (c. 1630) and Fryer (1677).

[1] Agreement, approval. Cp. "the agreation of the Councell of State" (Prynne's *Sov. Power of Parl.*, 1643, quoted in *New Eng. Dict.*).

chants with goods vpon our shipps, wherby they wilbe enformed of the Prices both of ours and their comodities.[1]

9. You shall follow the Companies orders for Payment of wages to all their factors the Royal at 5*s.*, and shall at the fleetes arrivalls take none as adtendants nor enterteyne any New into the Companies seruice. For all such as are already seated, you shall enforme who are necessarie and improueable in the Companies busines, sober, Industrious and honest, them to keepe and to encouradge, and by your lettres may procure them a Competent encrease of wages; others, whom you fynd Negligent in their duty or dissolute in their life, you shall send them to the Port to bee reshipt.

10. You shall give speedy and full aduise as well of the reception of these conditions as of the proceedure and probabilitie of this trade to the ends by vs aymed at, and of the Prices of all sorts of goods to bee imported or exported, both to the Company in England (by way of Aleppo, in Charractar) and to mee and the Cape marchant resident at Suratt by the way of Syndu and by the Meanes of the Mogolls Ambassdor in Spahan, or by any other speedy, sure and Convenient Passadge.

11. You shall enterteyne John Leachland as one of your factors to bee imployed in veiwing and buying the silkes, in which hee pretends hee hath had breeding and experience, and shall allow him 10*li.* yearly for his Mayntenance, and for the rest of his wages hee referrs himselfe to his desarts and the Companyes fauour.

12. You shall take Notice that notwithstanding Edward Monnox receiuing from mee commision[2] deriued from the Instructions and Power conferrd on mee by his Maiestie to goe into Persia and to take account of the former proceedings, and no other, that hee finding it necessarie to abyde in the Countrye I fully giue my Consent therto, and hereby do appoynt him the second factor in that trade; and in Case of the Death of Thomas Barkar to reside Cheefe or Cape Marchant in his steed, and doe giue him full power to the excecution of all these former instructions,

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[1] This was perhaps a wise precaution, considering that the English were not prepared to give more than 7*s.* 6*d.* a pound for silk which was estimated to fetch in London 16*s.* (Company's instructions to Roe, *see* Appendix B).

It may be mentioned that the silk brought home by the *Anne* in 1619 sold for 26*s.* 10*d.* the great pound of 24 oz., which is at the rate of 17*s.* 10*d.* the ordinary pound.

[2] See p. 463. Monnox's instructions (no longer extant) seem to have required his early return; but finding the factory in so weak a state, he had judged it best to remain. Upon Barker's death (30 Nov. 1619), Monnox became chief in Persia, but returned to England in 1623. A "Relation of the late Ormuz businesse" from his pen is given in Purchas's second volume (p. 1793).

to dispose of the Companies busines, estate and seruants and to Gouerne and direct them as their head and Principal to the benefitt of his Honorable employers; Prouided that hee proceede by consultation and aduise of the most antient and experienced that reside with or neare him and no otherwise: and that hee follow not the stepps of prodigallitie and greatnes begunn by Edward Connaught, but negotiate in the Name and qualitie of a Marchant, liue soberly and thrifteley as becomes his Place and the trust imposed vpon him: that hee giue no occasion of dislike or offence vnto his fellow seruants, but vse them with all fitt respects: that hee seeke to quench and reconcile all factions and discontents, which will breed first distraction and after ruyine to themselues and their employment: and that, wheras vpon his last dispatch hee wrote at lardge vnto the factors [and] to them consigned such lettres as properly to mee belonged, and to mee, to whom the busines is Committed, breefly and brokenly, with reference [to] the factors, I giue you to vnderstand that I looke for that due respect from him and all other in this busines employed as is oweing to my place, qualetie and authoritie committed and entrusted to mee by his Maiestie and the Honourable Company your Masters, and that first account bee to mee geuen of all your Proceedings, except only your bookes of account, ledgar and journall and such other affayres of Marchandice, of which alsoe I expect the foote or grosse account, that I may judge of the whole Profitt and losse; the others to consigne and render vnto the Cape Merchant at Suratt with Coppies for England as well of the said bookes and accounts as of all lettres, consultations and other proceedings that shalbe registred vntill this factorie of Persia bee settled and absolute of yt selfe or otherwise disposed off by full order and Power from the Companie in England.

13. Lastly, I requier you to bee carefull in the estates of such your factors as shall render their soules vnto their creator, that true inventorie and account bee kept and made over vnto the stocke of the Honourable Companie to avoyde all scandall or vnjust dealing, Particularly in the estate of William Tracy, who is lately dead and had in his Purse at his departure [from] Suratt Neere 100*li.*, part of which Edward Connaught had borrowed, that his frends may haue some just accompt, which they may expect of mee, beeing by them recommended to mee, but enveigled away by Edward Connaught; and that whatsoeuer goods, monies or debts may bee found of the said Edward Connaught may bee seazed or recouered to the vse of his Creditors and for the satisfaction of the Honourable Companie, Particularly one debt of 7 *Toman*[1] lent by him to the friar Padre Paulo, resident in Spahan,[2]

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[1] See note to p. 462. [2] Possibly the friar mentioned on p. 130.

whose bill at his death it seemes hee burned and bequeathed the Companies mony for Diergees and dead Masses;[1] and of all such summes of mony, debts, silkes and goods whatsoeuer pretended to bee the said Edward Connaught['s] to make true accompts and to putt it to the stock of the Companie, who will with more conscience and equitie render reason to all that shall of them demand it, as far as his estate arose, themselues beeing first in measure satisfyed.

So I Committ you all to Gods Mercy.

To the East India Company.

(I. O. Records: *O. C.*, No. 610.)

Amadavaz, 14 February, 1617-[18].

My Honourable Frendes,

Your lettres mentioned upon the *Charles* safely arriued at Swally Roade in September, 1616, and came to hand October following; were answered by the *Globe*, dispeeded from the Coast the 7th of March after,[2] to which I referr you; Coppies wherof I cannot now send (and by Godes Mercy ther is no cause) for I, beeing fully determined to returne, was vnprouided of them, or of any but my booke, and beeing in continuall trauell haue beene much streightened to send you these of Newer dates and soe more necessarie, hauing but one hand[3] to assist mee, and that oftener weake then able.

For the Passadges of your busines in Court or factories, as much as I was made acquaynted with, the one you shall receiue by a Journall, and the other you may collect out of transcripts of lettres directed to your seuerall factories by mee, all which are Punctually sent you, wherin you may see what wayes I held, and what my opinions were. In reading these, yf you compare the dates with those of your seruantes corresponding, you shall haue more light and Judge of all as if you were Present. I make noe question others send their owne, for soe I aduised tymely; and I could perswade you to appoynt one to view them togither, to collect the reasons and conclusions for your full enformation. You may in some clauses fynd mee sharp and

[1] Connock professed himself a Roman Catholic just before his death; as his implacable subordinate, Barker, put it in a letter to Roe (*O. C.*, No. 792): "he lived an Atheist and died a Papist." Barker further accused his late principal of extravagance, cowardice and deceit; but we need not attach much importance to such charges, for Barker's own behaviour was severely reprehended by Monnox and Pettus, the latter of whom declared that "the Company have lost a worthy servant in Connock."

[2] Roe's letter referred to is no longer extant.

[3] His secretary, the scribe of the present letter.

censuring your aduises from home; but you will find my reasons iustifiable and my endes honest and vpright.

To the Particular of your last receiued by the *James Royall* by my Frend Captain Pring, and to all instructions sent therby, you shall receiue answere either in this or in some single Papers to that Purpose; and in all you shall see my Judgment of all your trades, for I haue dealt openly and freely, as well before you committed to mee any thing as since.

As this bringeth a Coppy of yours [of] the former yeare, so I will runn along with yt in the Poyntes mooued.

The little doubtes that rose betweene mee and Captain Keeling soone vanished.[1] I found him in all thinges a reasonable and discreet man, nor want of any performance on your Partes of any thing promised mee.

Wee haue this yeare, for suffering the Insolencies of the Prince, made triall of Goga and searched all the Bay,[2] but can fynd noe place fitt for your head residence but Suratt; soe that question is at an end, and wee must study to make the best of that Place.

To waft the Mogolles subiectes into the Red Sea will neuer giue your Men bread and water. They neither desier it nor will admitt it, except wee doe it of Curtesie; for they Pay their *Cartasse*[3] notwithstanding, being Compounded with the Portugall, and they feare none but Pirattes, which is a New trade of a yeares standing; yet that feare will sooner make them not trade (for in all they are but slaues to the Lordes of the Portes, who Cutt vpon them) then giue vs the remayner of their Profitt for their safe Conduct, as in Master Steeles Proiects you will perceiue my triall, for hee had other endes.

The Motions of building a fort haue begott such Jealousies in these Moores that vpon bringing brick ashore to found a shippes bell,[4] it rang to Court, our People disarmed in Suratt, and I am not yet cleare of liberties lost vpon yt, though I haue made the Prince ashamed at the weakenes of the suspition to confesse a handfull of men could take a Part of their Countrie by force. But it is true wee would bee lordes there, and haue Committed soe many Insolencies that I haue woondred at their Patience;[5] yet wee complayne. The last yeare for another folly our People were restrayned in the Towne, and they sent from the shipes 200 Naked men ashore to take Suratt, who as brutishly bruted it in their March; yet ten Men would haue kept them from Passing the great Riuer.[6] This yeare wee haue offered vpon *Puntoes*[7] to

[1] Cp. p. 343. [2] See p. 450. [3] Cp. p. 440.
[4] See p. 450. [5] Cp. p. 365. [6] See p. 396.
[7] Ital. *punto*, a point, a small matter: hence, minute observances, or, as we now say, punctilios (cp. Bacon, *Advancement of Learning*, Bk. II, ch. xxiii, "where that [reputation] is not, it must be supplied by *puntos* and compliments").

force the Custome house and Twenty drawn their swoordes in yt. If these bee not iust causes of Jealousy, I am silent; yet I patch it vp.

The Commander[1] now by his great Modesty and discretion hath both reformed many abuses, gayned you much good will, himselfe all mens loue and his owne Creditt. An honester man I suppose you cannot send, and that his Actions will approoue: one that studies your endes, is ready to ioyne with any, without insisting vpon disputes and tearmes.

To returne to a fort. Ther is noe Place to bee obteyned. They are weary of vs as it is; and indeed wee see wee haue empouerished the Portes, and wounded all their trades, soe that by much Perswasion of the Gouernors the Merchant goes to sea. Or, if ther were licence granted, ther is none fitt for your Shipping except one that lies out of all Commerce and hath more inconveniences in yt then this, which, when your goodes are ready by September, wilbe easie enough. And if you began to build and plant here, quarrell would arise, the enemie exasperated, who may now bee drawn to Composition, and all your proffittes eaten in Garrizons and dead payes. It is noe way to driue your trades by plantation. The Dutch haue spoyled the Moluccoes which they fought for, and spent more then they will yeild them, if quiett, in seauen yeares.

Syndu[2] you may freely goe too, lade and relade; but it is inhabited by the Portugall, lies noe way well for your stock (except you scatter it); it ventes only your teeth[3] and affordes good Cloth and many toyes. But if the sortes you haue seene serue your Markettes, you are nearer seated and may haue what quanteties you Please; and for your teeth the marchant will fetch them at Suratt.

Bengala hath noe Portes but such as the Portugalles Possesse, for smalle shipping.[4] It will vent nothing of yours. The People are vnwilling in respect of the warr, as they suppose, like to ensue in their Seas; and the Prince hath Crossed it, thincking wee desired to remooue thither wholy, and that, if wee stay in India, hee takes to bee an affront. But now I may obteyne one ship to come and goe vpon hope of Rubies from Aracan and Pegu; but I knowe not what profitt you can make by any residence there, and I speak vpon searching the bottome of all the secrettes of India. If you will haue Patience to try one yeare, you shall see one thing effectually done is woorth twenty by fragmentes. You will find it is not many factories here that gettes you a penny. I will forecast your ease, and by godes grace, settle not only your priuiledges but your Profittes. This two yeare the Prince hath

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[1] Pring.

[2] See p. 122.

[3] Ivory ("Elephants' teeth").

[4] Cp. pp. 217, 349, 447.

beene my enemie, and if I had yeilded, I must haue beene his slaue. This last I haue stood out to the last and aduentured the feircnes of his wrath. It hath succeeded better then I expected. Wee are soe reconciled that hee is now my effectuall mediator and will procure mee Content. Indeed, hee only can giue it. His father growes dull and suffers him to write all Commandes and to gouerne all his kingdomes. [*Marginal note by Roe.*—When I wrote this, I had woordes enough; but such delayes in effects that I am weary of flatteries as of ill usadge.]

You can neuer expect to trade here vpon Capitulations that shalbe permanent. Wee must serue the tyme. Some now I haue gotten, but by way of *firmaens* and Promise from the Kynge. All the Gouerment dependes vpon the present will, where appetite only gouerns the lordes of the kingdome. But their Justice is generallie good to strangers; they are not rigorous, except in scearching for thinges to please, and what trouble wee haue is for hope of them, and by our owne disorders. In both I haue propounded to you a New course, and will here Practise it.

The Presentes last yeare were all seazed by the Prince in the way. I gott them realeased, but to spight mee hee sent them to the King. What I Chalenged of yours was returned; a good Part went for Persia. The remayner the King had in a base fashion, as my Journall will relate.

The Fleminge is planted at Suratt, [and] hath obteyned a *firmaen* vpon as good tearmes almost as wee. I did my endeauour to Crosse him, but they come in vpon the same ground that wee began, and by which wee subsist, feare. And if I fynd not all performed with mee now promised, I shalbe as bould as to chasten them once agayne; els the Duch wilbe before hand and doe it first, and then hee wilbe the braue man. Assure you I will not leaue this Coast but vpon good tearmes.

What I haue done in reformation of particular wronges and recouering of debtes my journall will enforme; how my lardge demandes were reiected and my selfe tyed to obserue the Custome to make sute vpon New occasion. I haue done my endeauor, and though you will find many yet vnpayed, many yet vnreformed, notwithstanding it will appeare not my fault, for I neither spared labor nor meanes; and in many thinges the error hath beene our owne, by negligence or disorder. The substance is: I haue gotten many bribes restored, many debtes, many extortions, and Commandes to take noe more: that by little and little I shall ease all: now I am vpon best tearmes, and if the Court were settled would soone finish these my teadious labors. You shalbe sure of as much priuiledge as any stranger, and right when the subiect dares not plead his. The Troubles at Suratt depending vpon couetousnes of Curiosities to satisfie the Prince (for your grosse goodes passe with ease) I will reforme by yeilding him Content; but it is priuat men that make the broyle and then exclaime most,

The aduise I gaue to procure a Place of securitie at the first face seemed good to mee, and I gaue it as I receiued it; but you must excuse mee of recanting twenty thinges which I could not knowe but from others. Ther is none fit, nor to bee had.[1] The *Bee*, sent to transport your goodes vp the riuer of Suratt, hath fully tried it and cannot performe it, for the many shiftes of sandes, without grounding, and then subiect to bee fiered.[2] Wee must sticke to Swally Roade, and, if I can effect my purpose to prouide your ladinges ready, you shall not feele the other inconveniences. The renting your Customes I haue endeauoured,[3] but as your seruantes in former yeares would neuer answere niee in the Poynt, soe these demand twise more then euer you payed; supposing then wee would double our trades.

. . . A Peace with the Portugall here were the best seruice I could doe you. I made, as by enformation you know, an ouerture to the viceroy, which his Pride neuer answered. Since wee haue giuen them a knock or two, and at this instant I am vpon hopes of treatye. But, that you may vnderstand the true estate of this busines, you shall know the Passages. First, the attemptes made vpon your fleetes were not, as I collect, by expresse order from Spayne. The ould viceroy who came in Person, 1614, against Captain Dowton discontented the wisest of his councell and all the inhabitantes of Goa in yt; his inprosperitie made his action the more hatefull and hee is now prisoner in the Castle, to bee returned to answere, I know not whither that hee did no more, or for doeing so much; but for that busines only.[4] The New viceroy declares not himselfe, but prepares a fleete to supplant, as hee pretendes, the Dutch in Cormandell.

The Jesuite here, who much affectes an agreement,[5] wisely fore-

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[1] Cp. p. 344.

[2] Pring wrote to the Company to the same effect (*O. C.*, No. 564). Presumably the pinnace had been sent in consequence of Roe's suggestion on p. 94.

[3] See p. 222.

[4] Upon the arrival of the news of Azevedo's unsuccessful attack upon Downton, the king appointed D. João Coutinho, Conde de Redondo, to succeed him as Viceroy. The latter arrived at Goa towards the end of 1617, and, acting upon orders from home, arrested Azevedo and sent him to Lisbon, where he died in prison (Bocarro's *Decada XIII*, c. 186; Faria y Sousa's *Asia Portuguesa*, Stevens' transln., vol. iii, p. 274). Faria y Sousa says that the chief charge against him was his failure to fight the Dutch.

[5] Cp. p. 286. In a letter to Agra, dated October 8, 1616, Roe says that "the Padre hath entreated and promised that if any Iniury bee offered, on the least woord of Complaynt to them wee shall receiue full satisfaction." Not long before the date of the present letter, Corsi had taken the opportunity to render Roe a service, for the following entry appears in Roe's accounts under the date of November 18, 1617: "Geuen to the Padre, in recompence of a

seeing they maynteyne it more by stubbernes then reason, hath often mooued lately to mee a Peace, and to that end hath written to his superiors in Goa, but receiued no direct answere. I haue demanded to show mee a Power that the viceroy hath authoritie to Conclude it, but in the Poynt could not bee satisfied; but that the Merchant, the Coaster, the Inhabitant, and the discreeter sort, all desired, only the Glorious souldier withstood it. Since, the arriuall of his Maiestie[s] lettre, which in one Clause mooued the Mogoll by his authoritie to enforce the Portugalles,[1] or to secure his owne Coast that wee might haue safe and quiett recourse vnto yt, hath ministred occasion. It seemes the Portugall stood vpon a *Punto* that he would not offer vs that which hee once would not answere; but by that motion (which I signified to the Jesuite to show our desiers were sincere to accord with Christians) I drew from him that hee supposed theirs were the like, but that a third Person wanted[2] to mooue it; but that was happelie by the lettre offered, that the Mogol would bee meadiator betweene both; to which end, after the lettrs deliuerie, the Padree followed it to Asaph Chan, as a man of Peace, for the quiett of the seas and to avoyd effusion of blood. On our Parts it was declared by his Maiestie, on theirs no way but by the Jesuite; and therfore, before the king would mooue it to bee refused, it was demanded if the Jesuite would vndertake the kinges desiers should vpon reasonable tearmes take effect, which hee could not promise but by aduise from Goa. Soe it rested; only betweene vs some speech vpon what tearmes and how farr wee intended this treaty; generall in the Indyes was improbable to effect; for a Couple of shippes vpon all this Coast it might bee granted. At first I stood vpon no restraynt, to come as wee listed; but after promised that when I saw Power to treat I would agree vnto conditions reasonable and honorable. Returne of these are not Come, in the direct poynt; but, the King beeing neare the sea, the Viceroy (which neuer before was done) sent an Ambassador toward the Court to congratulate in the Name of the King of Spayne. He yet stayes at Baltasare,[3] the Confines of this Territorie below Suratt. The Jesuitt mooued his admittance, and the King replied: if hee come with Presentes fitt for his Master to send and mee to receiue, he is wellcome: if not, I shall not acknowledge him for the Person hee pretendes nor giue him honor. This answere

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small Present geuen mee and of a great Curtesie done mee in Court, One foulding Case with Combes Richly embrodered, cost 5*li.*, and the embrodred girdle and hangers with Pearle sent me by the Company." What the "great Curtesie" was, does not appear.

[1] See p. 451.

[2] Was needed.

[3] Bulsár, a town 40 miles south of Surat, on the river Auranga. De Laet speaks of it as "ad limitem Daman." This embassy does not appear to be mentioned by the Portuguese historians.

was strange; but, getting noe better, it was returned, and as yet wee know not whither hee will proceed or not. By him, as the Jesuite subtilly tells mee (for hee sayes hee cannot averr it for truth, hauing not receiued it authentically), is come some authoritie to enter into communication of Peace, if the King motion it, and that it is one of his endes. I haue answered: I can acknowledge no Ambassador from a viceroy to treat on equall tearmes, and that I must see Power from Spayne. Att last, this is the truth: the viceroy is woone by the inhabitantes to consent to a treaty, but hath noe Power to conclude it; but, as his Masters deputie generally, he hath authoritie to doe much at his discretion; and if wee can agree vpon fitt tearmes, to make a Conditionall truce for three years, with reference to the Confirmation of our Masters in Europe; and this is all wee can hope for. If hee come, wee may proceed; if not, they shall not coosen mee; I am wher I was.[1] I haue to Master Secretarie and some of the Lordes againe mooued this Poynt; but the effecting and full aggreation must come from Spayne. The Viceroyes will for their glorie hardly enforme their true estate; but make the King bee-leue they can woork woonders, vntill they haue lost India. If it were fully questioned at home whither they make this warr by expresse command or by a generall pretence of I know not what title to all the world, I thinck it would soone bring it to issue, at least to a declaration; for I am perswaded the King of Spayne hath not giuen expresse Commission for yt and will disauow yt. I am sure, were I in Spayne, I could make it euident to any Cast Viceroy that perswades the warr, that hee abuseth his Master and that Pride only and folly began and Continues it. In conclusion of this: I know how fitt a Peace or truce were for you. If I can, vpon safe and Honorable tearmes, effect it, I shall thinck it of good Meritt toward you. If it bee still war, the force of India[2] will not wrong vs (except from the Manillas), but putt you to many inconveniences; if greater strength prepared in Lisboa, you must discouer and prouide accordingly.

To enforce the Portugall to Consent I haue tried many wayes and find the best by Chastising their neighbowrs for their sakes; but the roundest is, if the King wilbe insencible of his Honor, to suffer his subiectes to pay for leaue to trade in his owne seaes (which he seemes not to care for[3]), then must wee in the Red

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[1] See also p. 483.

[2] Portuguese India.

[3] The English had several times endeavoured to rouse the pride of the Mogul by pointing to the indignity put upon him by the claim of the Portuguese to control the navigation of his seas, "as yf both yourselfe and your Countreys were assubiected to the Crowne of Spaygne" (Letter from James I, in *First Letter Book*, p. 349); but their efforts were in vain. "He is not sencible of the dishonor, giuing reason: he conquered Guzuratt and keepes it in the condition he

Sea force them alsoe to giue vs as much; for the Portugall hath noe other right but as lordes of the Sea, which it is euident now he is not, and therfore the tribute due to vs. Then eyther wee shall haue all the trade and the Portugall loose his Contract (for the Merchant will giue ouer), or the Mogol wilbe enforced to see it is necessarie for him to bring vs to accord, that both may giue ouer that quarrell and leaue the seas free for all. This I haue often vrdged, but they haue Pawnes and presume wee will not beginn. For my part, it should bee my first woorke if I durst hazard your trade, which I suppose I could restore to perfection in 6 monthes. But, to minister occasion, I haue Pressed to your factors the employment of a ship to Mocha in Company, though at first wee haue no ease by the Guzerattes; my reasons are at lardge in lettres. But their resolutions I cannot gett, and will doe nothing alone. The feare of vs already makes them requier my Passe; which though I haue giuen to one ship (to satisfie her owner, whom I could not refuse, beeing in tearmes of Peace[1]), yet the demand shall giue vs title to more if wee bee tyed to former inconvenience. The second way is by riding with our fleete at Goa the tyme wee spend at Suratt; which Captain Pring was willing to doe, but by the disaster of the *James*[2] and absence of the *Bee* hee was both weakened and tyme lost.

I well know what losse, hazard, and inconvenience you runn by the stay of your fleetes. My last lettres to you and many to your seruantes to preuent it will fully declare my preuision in yt; but, as you will fynd, I had no Power; what I propounded was countermanded; I might not Meddle. But since you haue entrusted somwhat to mee, I dare promise you to prouide your ladinges ready by October; and soe you shall preuent the Portugall, who cannot bee fitt for an attempt two Monthes after. It was neuer beleeued I could effect that done. Wittnes the returne from Agra, treble almost to former yeares, prouided in a Month, Part by Creditt (which I haue kept, and therby entered you into more), part by bartar of 100 Clothes that lay by the wall 2 years, as the Motion did. The same Course I will take in tyme to Come, not to defer investmentes till our shippes arriuall and the Indicoes swept away . . . . . At the arriuall of

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found yt, and vpon the same articles and Contracts made by Bahud [Bahādur Shāh], kyng of Guzuratt, who made them with the Portugalls before this Monarchy was vnited" (Notes by Roe in *O. C.*, No. 611).

[1] See I. O. Records: *O. C.*, No. 612. Asaf Khān had asked for a pass for the junk *Jahāngīr*, which he was despatching to the Red Sea. Roe accordingly supplied him with a letter addressed to the commanders of any English ships that might be met with, requesting them not to molest the Mogul vessel, but to assist her as far as possible. A copy of this pass forms *O. C.*, No. 597.

[2] The leak already mentioned.

the next fleete . . . if you wilbe before hand, goodes only must bee landed and returnes forborne one yeare; so, by the Courses I will sett, you shall for euer bee before, and if you encrease by Jewelles your stocke to make mony, may easely relade for 3 or 4000 fardles of Indico, and Cloth[1] to any fitt proportion. Amadavaz will fynd you lesse, by reason of the Dutch and the trade open to the Red Sea; but, Creditt mee, at Agra you may euery yeare haue your whole *Partido*.[2] Ther is of ould store sufficient yet, and ther is made betweene that and Lahor at least 30000 fardles yearly, most wherof is carried away by land. . . . .

Biddolph followes the Court by reason of many debtes . . . Such a Course I haue taken that I hope to recouer all or most. The most desperat I haue secured, some Payd, and shall Cleare all the extortions of Suratt; part of the mony is collected and I haue a *firmaen* for all. . . .

What hath beene done in Persia you will fynd . . . . All I can say is it is not now to bee giuen ouer, though begunn vnperfectly. The King[s] honour, in whose Name it was sett afoote; you haue goodes and your People engaged; to the mayntenance of which I haue thought fitt to lett the ship dessigned for the Red Sea touch there to bring off your silkes and Maynteyne your Creditt, to supplie them and keepe life in the busines vntill by your better meanes and full tryall wee may proceed more roundly. What is Past I will not aggrauate, nor tread on the dead,[3] whose vanetye and follies, wast, and irreligion I did too justly suspect. To the busines, your freedome and admittance is very faier; the next consideration is how you may securely vse this Trade by want of a Port and compasse it without export of great quanteties of monies; for doubtles, if to bee done, it is the best trade of all India and will yeild you most certeyne Profitt. For the safetye of your fleetes, I doubt the Sha will not fortefie for you, except you can satisfie his endes, to pass all his Comoditie and to furnish him with siluer. Ormus lies vpon aduantage. You must woorke your Peace at home with them,[4] and then you cannot trade in these partes vpon ill Conditions. Toward this I will exasperatt the Sha to my uttmost against them that would hinder free trade. To surprise or take their seate by force is not easely done.[5] I confesse that were an end of the question; but it will cost a great Chardge, and such enterprises are vncerteyne; and after it would engage you into a warr. Therfore I can see no way sure but a Composition in Spayne, which to my Poore vnderstanding his Maiesties authoritie might effect. I knowe not by what pretence the King of Spayne can prohibitt

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[1] Calico.

[2] *Partito* (Ital.), 'bargain,' investment.

[3] Connock.

[4] The Portuguese.

[5] Cp. p. 406.

you trade in a free Princes Countrie to which he hath no pretence. If this were effected you need not insist vpon a Contract with the Sha, but, having lycence, trade for as much as you could and by what meanes you could. But the meanes to furnish this trade will not arise from England, neyther by our Cloth nor any other comoditie. It is folly to deceiue you with hopes that will fayle. Of these some may yearly be vented by Contract with the Shaw, and some Tynne will sell well, quicksiluer and vermilion; but not to Compasse a tenth Part of that by you aymed at. By spices you may well assist your selues; they giue as good profitt as in England within 30 per Cent, as I am enformed. China ware is in good request, and from India great profitt to bee made by Sugars, Cloth, Steele and other Comodities, by all which you may rayse a good Part of whatsoeuer you contract for, or, if you trade at libertie, toward your prouisions; the rest must bee supplied in Monie, To the furnishing wherof I must referr you to your owne meanes. One considerable thing is the distast of the Grand Signior, who doubtlesse will seeke to hynder the Passadge of the Persian Commerce by sea, hee reaping as much by Custome as the Sha by the Prime Comoditie. Master Steele is settled vpon water woorkes, rather for his owne ends then any profitt to you. I haue proposed to him his helpe in Persia; but hee hopes hee is settled and letts all other proiects fall. Assure you I will doe my endeauor to settle you in this trade, if I may doe it vpon such grounds as I may haue Creditt by, and you profitt. If your factors agree to the little supplie I now mooue, with it I will send prouision for omissions and, if your fleete come next yeare Prouided, will proceed roundly and effectually according to our aduise. If wee see the danger and Chardge vnavoydeable and no meanes to enter into yt but by mony and that we cannot vent ours and Sowtherne goods to profitt and returne you a fitt *Partido* of silkes to beare your expence and hazard, then wee will tymely recall your seruants and aduise you by land with expedition. If you proceede in these two trades fully you must furnish both with spices, for all wee can forecast will not rayse your stocke excepte only jewells, if you can fitt them to profitt. In these Poynts of the Peace and other that may help you I haue beene lardge alsoe to Master Secreatarie Wynwood,[1] and Playne according to my vnderstanding.

Of Master Steeles other proiects[2] you will find the generall opinion in your seruants lettres and other discourses; for that of lead, which hee only followes, the king hath taken the woorkmen at dayes wages, but I see no hope (nor end of his) to vent your lead. You must beare the hazard for giuing soe easy Creditt. I must bee Playne. He came hither expecting to command vs all, euer

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[1] This letter is no longer extant.

[2] See p. 439.

mentioning his desarts and Creditt with you; but I haue a little humbled him. The great wages you gaue him made all your factors eager to return; who say they trauell here and a light-braynd man that goes home and fills your ears with fables shall returne in better estate then they for paynfull seruice. You must pardon mee for my directnes. He neither can nor intended to performe any of his great braggs. I can gett noe reason of him for any one [and ?] was enforced to lett him trie which hee would. For that of freight into the Red Sea, wee haue all experience nothing wilbe giuen, nor shipt in ours if wee would aske nothing;[1] if wee once compell them they will know vs. To that end I desire one of your shipps employed in Companie; they shall make better Conditions with them when they are abroad with them and in perill then wee can heare ashore wher they are safe; and this way I aduise to proceede.

To bring goodes by the Riuer of Indus to Lahor is an ould proiect but very hard to bee effected when we must wring it from the Portugal, who makes some Profitt, but not the tenth mentioned by Steele. If wee trade into Persia wee may effect yt, and it may ease Chardge; but to hope of profitt by the Conduct[2] alone is absurd. The trade is not soe great as to find your Men rise;[3] and yet if it must bee done by strength they will feare to aduenture with you. Ther is nothing but a Peace can settle all these. Ther is noe settled trade betweane Lahor and Syndu woorth the Mentioning; only a few *Banians* that shipp in frigotes for Ormus; whom it is hard to perswade to change their Customes, the woorst wherof they know. It is true ther Passe yearly 20000 Camells by Lahor from Agra and other Parts with spices, Indicoes, sugars and goods for Persia; but the most of these bring goods on Camells and sell and invest for returne, and will not bee drawen to the sea, except it were open and secure. I am perswaded, if you had the trade of Persia free and the Portugall frends, many would take that way;[4] but this is a woorke of tyme; what may bee done in yt shall not bee omitted.

Master Steele will, I hope, fall into consideration. I daylie presse him; but he would bee deliuered of mee. I vrdgd him to agree for a woorke by great, that you might haue some returne of your Chardge; but he is yet only in woords. Hee will not once name the renting of his woorke, it beeing soe absurd.

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[1] "For the waftinge of the Guzeratt shipps to Moha or other places," wrote Fettiplace and Hughes sarcastically to the Company (*O. C.*, No. 581), "we thincke they put soe much Confidence in our nation as that they had rather goe alone."

[2] Convoying.

[3] Rice.

[4] This expectation was realised. When the English were settled at Gombroon, their vessels were freely used by native traders between that port and Surat.

Noe Cast here will drinck of the water, but fetchd by his owne Cast; or, if they would, the Profitt should not bee allowed you.[1] The King is desierous of all New arts, will entertayne the Artificers, and soone learne their sckill and cast them off. Howeuer, I will prouide hee shall not spend you more then hee shall earne. His wife I haue bound to Mistress Towerson at her sute. I was resolued to send her home; but shee hath one Child sucking and (as they say) forward of a Nother; it were vnfitt to send her home alone among Men. If her husband had returned, it had beene more convenient; yet hee would haue tould you hee would haue performed all. Now hee is kept to triall; and I beleeue by the Next you may expect him, rich in Children and not vnprouided of other meanes, for hee brought in goods and jewells aboue 400*li.*, and tooke of Mochreb-chan 5000 *rupees* impresse vpon them, in hope of more, without my knowledge. Thus hee presumes he may trade freely: that his Creditt is greater with you then such trifles. Or, if hee had not stock, hee layed his owne Plott well; for hee brought a Paynter,[2] stole him aboord at the downes, [who] is bound to him for 7 years (a very good woorkeman both in lymming and oyle) to deuide profitts; him hee preferred to the king in his owne trade, Pretended to mee for an engineer in water woorkes. His smith makes clocks; of all hee shares the moyetie. I required to bynd them to you by Couenant, which hee could not refuse; but his Paynter would not, and when I offer to send him home, I dare not for the kings displeasure, to whom Steele by his toong to my face may wrong mee, and hath already practised it.[3] But I shall defend myselfe and you, if God blesse mee.

Captain Towerson and his wife find could reception here. Her frends are Poore and mean and weary of them. Hee came with

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[1] Steel's projects are further criticised in a separate paper of about this date in the I. O. Records (*O. C.*, No. 611). Roe, in explaining to the Court after his return the absurdity of the waterworks scheme, pointed out that "first, the Riuer Gemini [Jumna] was vnfit to set a Myll vppon, raging with vyolence of Waters 3 months together, overflowing his boundes a myle from his bankes, so that it appered impossible to settle such a worke either at the highest or lowest tyme therof, when he falls within his bankes againe. Secondly, the *Banians* in Agra (who are the greatest part of the inhabitants) will not touch nor meddle with any water that is brought or handled by any other then themselves. Thirdly, the King and Nobilitie haue as excellent and artificiall waterworks of their owne as can be desired. And, lastlye, Lead may be had at Agra better cheape then can be brought vppon Camells from Surat" (*Court Minutes*, November 10, 1619).

[2] Named Hatfield (see p. 459).

[3] Steel was able to speak Persian, and had been used by Roe as an interpreter, an opportunity of which he did not fail to take advantage (see p. 484).

hopes of great Diamonds, and they looke for guifts of him. I am sorie for him and his little vanetie. I haue vsed my best advice to perswade his returne. He sees his owne abuse, and yet hath not Power to recall yt. Hee thought to bee esteemed here a great man; God send him to returne as hee came; which, if I would consent, hee might in estate better, for his Purpose was, it seemes, to invest here in Indicoes for about 1000 *li.*; pretends your licence and his Meritt to bee such as you will deny him nothing. I shall gett an ill name by refusing such easye requests. I woonder why you should grant him this fauour and bynd all our hands: and you could not but foresee his ends was trade, or, if he say true, you allow yt. You may assure yourselues it makes all your seruants grudge; and till I see vnder writing it was your Pleasure I will not bee ouercome with Pretended desarts that I know not. Mistress Hudson claymes the like for her proportion, about 120 *li.* I am the same to man and woeman. Lastly, when they sawe my resolution, they intended to the Sowthward and soe make 5 returnes for one. But I vnderstood your prohibition to be generall; I knowe what Iniurie that Course would doe you, and haue alsoe denyed yt. Now hee is resolued to stay, perhaps till I am gone, to find an easier man. Hee may be deceiued. I offered him to returne this yeare and, to ease vs of his woemen, liberty to invest his stock in Cloth and other goods, Indico excepted, provided to bee consigned to you; but hee hath better hopes, and I assure you I feare hee will spend most of his stock and ease mee of refusing him vnreasonable demands. By suffering such aduenturers you putt mee to much inconvenience, discontent your seruants, and hazard more then you consider; euerie man is for himselfe, and I the Common enemie. He hath many ends neuer to you propounded; but bee assured I will looke to him. You neede not doubt any displeasure hee can rayse you by her kindred, nor hope of any assistance. They fence one vpon another and are both weary. The mony Mentioned of Captain Hawkings is fallen by misenformation from 2000 *rupees* to 200; not worth recalling, ells I had beene dooing before your dischardge came.

What I haue employed for you of myne, I will account when I come home, and not aske mony out of your stock. I desier euery way to lett you know I ayme at Creditt, not at mony.

The Presents you sent are in their kynds some good, others ordinarie. Noe man can tell what to aduise for; they change euery yeare their fancy . . . . Your shipps haue made all things Common; kniues bought at 10 *rupees* offered for 6 *Mamoodies*; and yearly ther Comes as many toyes of all kyndes as yours, which sould in hast by Marriners or others bound to the Sowthward hath made all Cheape and Common. They imitate euery thing wee bring, and embroder now as well as wee. What my opinion changeth too for goods and presents is in a Paper

seuerall,[1] but noe man can aduise certeynly except vpon jewells. These People will Couett any thing; when they see it, disgrace it, and not come to halfe the Price. Yet you shall finde sould of these many at two for one, some at 50 per Cent, some at 3 and 4, and halfe shalbe putt to profitt. Many things alsoe, as gloues, will giue nothing nor bee accepted as guift,[2] but as Patterns to Picke out woorke.

The tokens you sent mee I receiue most gratfully; but all beeing not for my vse, I take only two feathers and one hatt and band, a swoord and hangers, and lace for bands. The rest yet lye by mee, that may serue your turne; if not, I will weare them for your sake, or sell them and put to your account. Your loue to mee is sufficient present. I dare nor perswade you to send any quantetie of such ware as these; the kinds in its owne Place I haue mentioned. Ammell[3] is fallen in Price, yet it will giue good profitt; but it must bee good. Ther is noe salle till the Court bee settled. About this quantetie yearly will passe at most, for the Portugall now ouerlayes it.

I was fully resolued to returne by this fleete, as you may perceiue by many Passadges; but your earnest desier prevayles aboue myne owne occasions. Sir Thomas Smyth had power to send mee out, and hath lost noe part of his interest in mee. I doubt not his Maiesties lettre too mee[4] was procured by you, wherin I find his gratious acceptation aboue my Meritt, which bindeth mee to endeauour aboue my abilitie. I must acknowledge the fauour you did mee in relations to his Maiestie. That is the reward I labor for and expect; and you shall finde I will not fayle you in my uttmost endeauours. When my experience was Raw I wrote you many things by report, and I am not ashamed to recant; but the end shall judge of mee and my endes. The Next yeare I shall take your offer to returne in one of your shipps and to Command her. If wee agree not here, I shalbe busie with her; but will not doe it but for that end which no fayre way can procure. Ther was neuer fayerer woords and lesse fayth among the Cretans then in these People.

What the value of Pearle and other *Pedreria*[5] is I haue specified in a Tariff here inclosed. Those you sent, except the great, of which I haue giuen reason, are yet vnsould and will neuer giue the mony you rate them att;[6] you must either buy Cheaper or Invoyce your goods right, that your seruants may know what to doe. I know these are ouer valewed. But to the Poynt. At

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1 See p. 485. 2 Cp. p. 395. 3 Enamel.
4 See p. 430. 5 Jewels (Span.).
6 See p. 423. They were finally sold in July 1618, to Ásaf Khán for Rs. 8,092, "hauing beene offered to many and none would give soe muche for them togeather." As they had cost £1521 17*s*., there was a considerable loss on the transaction.

the Rates by mee giuen, if they hould weight and bewtie, I giue you assurance you may sell for 50000*li.* yearly ready Mony, and for as much more in any sort of stones by mee specifyed ;[1] and this way only rayse a stock, and your free recourse bee desiered by the King and Prince and great men ; and if they are pleased, the Crie of a Million of subiects would not bee heard.

. . . . I haue this yeare beene in the woods. By my returne I will bring you an exact survey of all the trafiques of India, and bee by you to answare any misinformation. Ther is no Complaynt by the Mogolls subiects that wee buy not their Comoditie, but Contrarie, that wee buy so much that their owne Merchants want for the Red Sea. I knowe it true. Wee haue raysd the Price of all wee deale in, and now wee feare the Dutch will make it woorse.

. . . . I haue only two Poynts to touch. That these Seas beginn to bee full of Rouers, for whose faults wee may bee engaged. Sir Robert Rich and one Phillope Barnardoe sett out two shipps to take Piratts, which is growne a Common Pretence of beeing Piratts. They missed their entrance into the Red sea (which was their dessigne), and came for India, gaue Chase to the Queene Mothers Juncke, and, but that God sent in our Fleete, had taken and rifled her.[2] If they had prospered in their ends, either at Mocha or here, your goods and our Persons had answered it. I ordered the seisure of the shipps, Prises, and goods, and converted them to your vse; and must now tell you if you bee not round in some Course with these men you will haue the seas full and your trade in India is vtterly lost and our liues exposed to Pledge in the hands of Moores. I am loath to lie in Irons for any mans faults but myne owne. I loue Sir Robert Rich well,[3] and you may bee pleased to doe him any Curtesie in restitution, because hee was abused; but I must say, if you giue way, you giue encouradgement. I had rather make him any Present in loue then restore any thing in right. For Barnardo, I doubt not you wilbe sencible of his Plott, and call him into question. Hee getts the Duke of Sauoyes Commission, but the faces are all English. Jhons, the Captain of the *Lyon*, was a Proiector. The

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[1] The Portuguese relied largely on jewels for their trade with Hindustán : " We neuer heard of any commodity the Portingalls doe bringe to Goa then Jewells, ready mony and some few other provisions of wine and the like, except the marfeel [ivory], gold and amber which they bring from Mozambique. Those factors which come from Goa to the Court, Agra, and Brampore, bringe nothinge but Jewells, which they retorne imployed in Indico, both of Biana and Cirkeis [Sarkhej], Semanaes [see p. 322], Carpetts and the like" (The Agra factors to the Company, December 20, 1617 : *O. C.*, No. 581).

[2] See p. 420.

[3] Rich afterwards married Roe's cousin, Susanna, widow of Alderman William Halliday.

Mootams[1] enveigled Sir Robert Rich and after Mutined, tore his Commission, disarmed his Captain, and are breefly villaynes woorthey to feede in the Marshalsy one yeare. Such an example would deter others; els you giue them both title and hart. The Captaine of the *Francis*, Master Newse, sett out by Sir Robert Rich, I will Commend to your fauour as an honest discreet gentleman, who neaver consented to your Iniurie, but was forced by his disordered Gyng;[2] the rest I leaue you to deale with as in your Judgement you shall find requisite. But if you suffer Rouers in these seas, ther must bee noe traders. It is hard to prooue to these People the difference of Merchants and Piratts, if all of a Nation; or, if you could prooue it, I am vnwilling to lye for a Pawne vntill Certificatt came out of Europe.

The second is the Dutch. They wrong you in all Parts and grow to insuffrable insolencies. If wee fall foule here, the Common enemie will laugh and reape the fruict of our Contention. There must a Course bee taken at home, which, by his Maiesties displeasure signified, were not difficult, if he knew how they traduce his Name and Royall authoritie, robb in English Coulors to scandall his subiects,[3] and vse vs woorse then any braue enemie would or any other but vnthanckfull drunckards that wee haue releeued from Cheese and Cabbage, or rather from a Chayne with bread and water. You must speedelye looke to this Maggat; els wee talke of the Portugall, but these will eate a woorme in your sides. I Neede not Counsell you which way; only aduise you neuer to joyne stock to profitt and losse, for their garrisons, Chardges, losses by Negligence will engage you to beare Part of their follyes for no Profitt. But your accord must bee by a stint at those parts common to you both, and agreement to what Ports you may resort without offence one to the other. If they keepe you out of the Moluccoes by force, I would beat them from Surat to requite it. In both these I haue beene lardge to Master Secretary and some of the Lords, that they may haue feeling of the Iniuries and bee assistant to you.

This second february arriued with mee the footmen sent from

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[1] James Mootham was master of the *Francis*; John, possibly a master's mate. The latter was taken by Pring into his fleet in that capacity, and died some thirteen months later; James, probably as the more guilty of the two, was sent home a prisoner in the *Bull*, together with Newse and Jones. Bangham recommended him to the Company for employment, but apparently without success, and the last heard of him is that in 1620 the Company procured a warrant against both him and Jones for hiring away divers men from the *London* to serve the King of Denmark in the East Indies.

[2] Gang.

[3] Cp. p. 410. This was generally believed by the English factors in the East; cp. *Cocks's Diary*, vol. i, p. 260, vol. ii, p. 41, and *Letters Received by the E. India Co.*, vol. ii, p. 199.

Spahan by Edward Connaught with lettres of 8 Monthes date, directed to Master Kerridge and to noe other.[1] I opened them. In generall I fynd no more then the Coppies that came by the *Bee*; some Particulars[2] by which I discouer more of their triumvirat faction[3] and Priuatt plotts then matter of busines. In one I find a New character,[4] which giueth mee some suspition; but I will vnderstand it before I accuse. In others I and you will find that ther was a resolution taken to conceale all the proceedures in Persia from mee; and the better to enter Creditt with you, the lettres I sent the King of Persia in february 1615[5] and january 1616,[6] with diuers aduises to you, both reasons and obiections, the full declaration of our entents in pursuing this trade, all directed for deliuerie or Conveyance to William Robbynns, Connaught gott into his Power, opened, and suppressed them; and, not supposing I sent Coppies other wayes, out of myne makes his use and writes you these lettres of his propositions to the King. You may compare them Poynt to Poynt, the Phrase not altered. Reading them I knew myne owne, and, though not woorth the Challendging, yet you may see how these New Ambassadors and Agents Packd[7] against mee. All coppies fitt for you, which I doubted others would Conceale, I send you; all which might informe, or did concerne, the factories I dispeeded the same Night, that no pretence of delay might hynder my present desiers for a little supply thither; wher if a trade may bee settled with securitie and Compassed with your fitt meanes, I shalbe gladder then all they who would haue kept mee in ignorance. I can spare them the Creditt of yt that want yt; and my Manner of Prosecution shall giue both account of my affection to yt and your good and of my judgement in the Possibilitie and Profitt.

Since the finishing of the former intent of supply for Persia I receiued full answere from the shipps that it was impossible to bee performed vntill the next Change of Monzone, and hereby wee are enforced to leaue it in imperfection. By your next fleete I doubt not wee shall vnderstand the resolution of our hopes and bee furnished to releeue the wants, and either to settle it or recall it. In the interim I will send to your factors such direction as is requisite, and to the Sha excuse of our fayling: that yet wee know not nor were agreed vpon the quanteties of goods nor Prises on both Parts. I receiued to day Newes from Ormus of a reuolt of all the Mahometans subiect to the Portugalls for the stealing an *Alcaron*[8] out of their *Moschee*; which the Sha takes alsoe for a breach of Peace, it beeing one of the

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[1] Probably the letters of 15 and 16 May, 1617, which form *O. C.*, Nos. 480-481. [2] Private letters.
[3] Barker reviling Connock, and Pley blaming Barker. [4] Cipher.
[5] See p. 132. [6] See p. 373. [7] Conspired. [8] *I.e.*, a Koran.

Articles that the Moores should not bee offended nor Iniured in Poynt of their religion. Yf it bee not suddenly appeased, it may occasion the Sha to take the fort into his hands; which by a little help might bee effected, and for him easy by our assistance; without joyning, very difficult for either of vs.

The New Pretended Spanish Ambassador[1] is refused audience, beeing come as far as Cambaya, within 2 dayes of Court; Principally because his Presents were not of great valew. But the King, shaming to insist vpon soe base a reason, vsed for a full deniall a later Pretence, that hee was no right Embassador; having of mee demanded by Asaph-chan if I would avow him for one, to which I replyed if I saw his Masters lettres I was bound; if not, I should not acknowledge him but as a messinger. The King demanded of the Iesuite if he had lettres, who replying truth: none from Spayne; and, to avoyd the affront, professed alsoe that hee came but from Damon, a Citty of the Portugalls, but soe suddenly as the New Vizeroy could neither prepare a fitt Present nor lettres: that his Comming was to congratulate in the Vizeroy and Cytties Name his approach into these Parts; at which hee had his full dismission, but with good tearmes: that if hee came to see him, hee should bee wellcome; but if the Vizeroy would send him or any other with Presents and authoritie in the Name of the King of Portugall, hee would receiue him with Honor. The Iesuite is somwhat troubled; and the Embassador, who came on in great Brauerie, takes himselfe scorned. They pretend to mee that another shall returne with ampler lettres and full Power to treat with mee, which Asaph-chan from the King gaue in Chardge. For my Part, I am not sorry for any distast begunn, and thinck not that the Portugall will stoope so farr as to send a Nother nor Presents vpon such a demand and affront; neyther that if any come that hee shall bring authoritie to make you a secure Peace. The issue I attend.

Master Steele hath Now fully deliuered himselfe and his woorkemen into the Kings Power, and them into his Pay; hath had speech of the like for himselfe; and it is all our opinion hee will vpon that sett vp his rest. In woords he protested Not; but hee hath gotten his wife vp with Mistris Towerson, as her seruant, and vowed to mee shee should liue in her house, to which end I tooke a Couenant from them. But the first day hee brake it, carried her to a house of his owne, where hee liues with Coach, *Palinke*, 7 horses, and ten seruants; and, beeing stayed in my house as Prisoner, to search into his entents, he confessed hee said anything formerly and consented to the Couenants to deceiue mee and to gett his wife into his owne Power. The excuse of all is affection. [*Marginal note by Roe.*—Now he followes the Court with as great expence as I and as many seruants.] Send them

[1] See p. 471.

home by force I cannot, or is now too late, vntill the King bee satisfied in his expectation of great Promises from Richard Steele. Neyther will hee proceed vpon the woorke of Agra (which was my Condition), but follow the *Leskar* to make Picturs, clocks, coaches and such deuices, by which hee hopes to creepe into great preferments. I assure you I write of his Courses very modestly. Wee are not yet wise enough to see any hopes nor any entents of his to effect a woork out of which you may make any aduantage. He hath professed the woorkemen are his seruants: that he spent 500 *li.* to bring them for the King. They haue not language to denye it, nor will to follow him; but now they are engaged, hauing receiued horses and Mony; and when I mooue their true employment, it is replyed they are in the Kings Pay, and must obey his Pleasurs, they and their guide. *Marginal note by Roe.*—When he was my toong to the King[1] he would deliuer his owne tales and not a woord what I commanded.] The Next difference is that hee will alsoe carry vp his woman, which I refuse, requiring her stay with her Mistris, according to yours and my intent. If hee consent, I shall giue him some employment and allowance from you; if not, that hee will runne in all contrarie, then hee giues mee such assurance of that all men suspect, that I shall neither trust him with your goods nor pay him any wages vntill I haue meanes to send him home; which will soone bee, if hee continew his expence and attend the bounties of this King. You see I desier noe weomens company, but labour to leaue such incumberances behynd. Beleeue mee the scandall already is not easely wyped off. Your securitie shalbe at the woorst you shall loose no more by him; I will looke to your estate.

. . . . . The King is anew gone into the woods, toward Mando as reported, but wee are not certeyne.[2] I am entering into the miserie and Chardge of following. What conclusion I shall haue I cannot presage. Hee is good to mee; his sonne latly better, who is absolute King. Hee hath granted mee a few Priuiledges, and reconfirmed our trade and liberties at Suratt, but will heare of noe more Ports; his *firmaen* also for recouerie of Customes taken on the way and for your goods and seruants at Brampoore that were seized by the justice. He hath ordered all your debts in *Cerkar*,[2] and promised execution of the Kings sentence against other our debtors, which if wee could settle, in a Month I should doubtlesse finish. I was not consenting to, the

[1] See p. 477.

[2] He really went by Mehmadábád and Balasinor to Jhalod and Dohad, returning the same way.

[3] *Sarkár*, a word used in several diverse senses. Roe seems to mean that the Prince had given orders to the officials to enforce payment of all debts due to the English at Court as though they were due to the King.

Making, yet will not leaue them alone that did mee. I am soe weary of the wayes of this Court, which are gouerned by no rule, that I must open to you my full resolution. If this *Norose* I can finish my desiers of vniuersall Priuiledges that shalbe of Power in all Parts of his Dominion, and recouer our debts, I shall desier to retyre and rest mee vntill the arriuall of your fleete; for the Next raynes, if I lye in the feilds or in an open house, will finish my trauells. If not, I will take my leaue, and bee ready at Suratt to meete with the ship I expect from the Red Sea, who shall both Pay mee all that is due and make those conditions bee offered which now I seeke with despayre. Assure you, I knowe these People are best treated with the swoord in one hand and Caducean[1] in the other.

If I haue erred in my judgment you will easely fynd one man cannot see all. My affection to doe you right and honest seruice shall excuse many escapes. But in Generall I desier you to preserue in your opinion this thought of mee: that whatsoeuer I conceiue good for you I will Practice: neither feare nor Paynes shall diuert mee: and that when I shall be present to giue you reason of any thing I haue written, Noe man shalbe soe impudent as to contradict it: and for my life, it will not bee ashamed of any search and enquirie. The issue of all yours and our endeauours I committ to Gods blessing, who is able to Make rich and Poore, and to convert the successes of all to his Glorie.

Your honest frend to doe you seruice,

THO. ROE.

ADVISE FOR GOODES FOR SURRATT.[2]

(I. O. Records: *O. C.*, No. 637.)

Broade cloathes: everie two yeres 200, or euery yere 100; Red, greene, yallowe, poppingey;[3] no stammetts,[4] or not aboue 10.

Corrall: as much as you cann provide; the rates and sortes Surratt must informe.

Lead: none theis 2 yeres.

Quicksilver: for 1000*li.* yerely.

Vermillion: a small quantitie.

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[1] The wand or rod carried by Hermes as the messenger of the Gods.

[2] Endorsed: "Aduise from Sir Thomas Roe of Goodes and Presents for Surratt, 1617." In the *Cal. of State Papers* (*E. Indies*), this is assigned (with a query) to March 1618; but there seems to be sufficient ground for assuming that it is the enclosure referred to in the preceding letter (p. 478).

[3] Popinjays were gay-coloured woollen stuffs, made chiefly in Gloucester, and so called after the common green and red parrot.

[4] A woollen stuff resembling linsey-woolsey.

Wine, hott waters, swordes, knives (except great and rich), Glasses (looking nor glasing): none, nor anie such like trash.

Pearles: anni great well bought; Chaines of pearles, between 3 Carr[ats] and 10, the greatest the best.

Rubies give the best proffitt, from 3 Carr[ats] vpwardes of all sizes, so high in coullour and faire.

Ballasses:[1] faire and greate, of 60 Carr[ats] vpwardes.

Cattes eyes: if you knewe the right stone.

Emrauldes: of the old and new rocke, the greatest.

Aggats: some fewe well cutt, the faces white.

Armletts: anie made to lock onn with one Ioint, sett with stones, diamondes and Rubies, good worke, will give you proffit.

Of this kinde of goodes, if you would finde anie rich stone to the value of 20,000*li.* to equall the Portugall, would give you great proffit and Credit. It is howrely objected and required. By this meanes only you can compas a stocke and make your trade desired; vpon such a rare peece you maie get anie Conditions, for their Coveteousnes of them is vnsatiable. If you can send yerely in great stones of theis kindes or pearles 100 v 000*li.*,[2] I dare be bownde it would vent to proffitt and make you highly requested. Without this the Kinge wilbe wearie; and it will save you presents. All other things will faile you and with theis you may putt of anie thing. The Towre, I ame perswaded, could furnish you with many great olde stones that are vseles.

Arras: fresh and good Coullours, for one or two yeres you maie vent to some proffitt for 10,000*li.*

Cloath of gould and silver branched, Grograines or Sattins, that make a fine shewe, mingled with fresh coullours, will raise monie, but to no great proffit. Gould Lace is much inquired after by the King. I thinck it will yeld 30 per cento proffitt.

Chambleets[3] of Turkey, red, greene, yallowe, purple: they come in quantityes from the red sea.

Shirtes of Male: a hundred, so they be lyght, arrowe proofe, and neately made.

Imbrodered Coates of the Indian fashion, for our wastcoates they canot vse here. I haue patternes of the King of diuers sortes sent you.[4]

Cases for round Bucklers.

Quivers for bowes and arrowes, Indian fashion.

And generally I give you this rule: whatsoeuer you send in

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[1] See p. 167.

[2] The V is merely a symbol for "thousands."

[3] Camlets, a light stuff said (though this is disputed) to have been originally woven from silk and camel's hair.

[4] See pp. 391 and 395.

this kinde must be made by Indian patternes, for then they are of vse and euery bodies monie.

Gloves, hangers, Scarfes: by theis only they picke out the workes.

In steade of Sweete baggs, rownde Cushions gathered like cloke bags, to leane on.[1]

Any of theis in needleworke or imbroiderie will sell cent. per cent. or not much les; all imbroderie being fallen in value, for they haue learned by ours to do as well. Boxes imbrodered will sell to proffitt; and great glasses.

Some light coullored Norwich stuffes wrought in flowers for triall, the lighter the better. I ame perswaded manie would vent, if chosen fitlie.

Concerning Presentes.

Not to followe the Course of presenting yerely in the Kings name. Once in three yere a letter and a good present. If you bring stones you shalbe welcome to all.

Furnishing yerelie 2 or 3,000*li.* in other fine ware or cloath of gould, silver, &c., You must yelde to haue it seene at Custome-howse, and sent all to the King or prince, with whome must go a merchant, and when opened before the King (which is the slaverie here) he maie give one or two toyes (such as he seeth pleaseth) and, after, all the rest to sell. I assure you they wilbe all bought and good paiment, and the King better content then in this Course; for our trouble is all aboute the presents, which, if all came to sell, were finished at once. I am inforced by experience to change the Course. I haue tried all waies and hazarded this yere a quarrell to avoyd an affront. I will sett downe a course to prevent their greedines and to tourne it all to proffitt, seeing they haue no honour.

This Counsell Asaph Chan first gaue,[2] telling me we were fooles and had brought vp a Custome to our owne hurt: the King expected nothing of merchantes but to buy, and at entrance (as fashion) a toy, and when anie petition, the like: that when we gave in the name of the King it should be seldomer, and then befitting his honour. He demanded who practized this Course but yourselves, neither Duitch, Persians, nor Armenian merchantes; neither did the King expect it. I knowe this both wise and thriftie Counsell, but your Agent resident wilbe against it. For ther is no man but will ayme at his owne proffit, my self excepted, as by my retourne it will appeare; I neuer gaue a knife for myne owne endes, nor vsed the least basenes of begging; my riches are accordingly.

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[1] See p. 391.

[2] Cp. p. 444.

Fitt presentes from the King.[1]

once in three yere, four or five of theis, with one of good value.

Some good stone for once, or some rich peece of Arras, silke and gould, but one or two at most.

A rich peece of Tissue or Cloathe of gould.

A fine Crowne, sett with small stones.

A faire bed feild, with lace or some worke.

A rich feild Caparason and Sadle, the patterne from hence.

A Coate of Sattin imbrodered, the paterne from hence.

With theis:

Some Cushions, Cabbennetts, glasses, Standishes[2] and toyes of vse for others.

Pictuers of all sortes, if good, in constant request; Some large storie; Diana this yere gave great content.

Goodes from the Southwardes.

Spices of all kindes give great p[r]offit. China Dishes and all sortes of fine ware, as Chestes, Cabbenetts, bedsteades &c. to as good proffit as in England.

Taffaties imbrodered with gould, silke in flowers, vearie well requested and rated.

From theis partes for presentes in toyes you maie be better furnished then from Europe.

Cochenel will neuer sell a certenty. Few knowe it. For a pownd or two some may give a good price; but it is no comoditie of vse. Those of Sinda only buy it. The Persians bring a little and retaile it at 35 *ruppies* the great *seere.*

Ammell[3] hath sould: the red, if verie fine, ordinarily for twice the waight in gould. The Portugales haue theis two yeres from Goa brought some, of which francisco Swart[4] 18 *li.*; the red sould at 45*s.* the ounce, blewe, white and greene att 18*s.* The King being in the feild, all the workmen, both of the Court and the great men, are retourned to Agra, where I must sende it. It may yeld you, the red (against the *Norouse*) nere the waight of gould, the rest ½ the waight in gould.

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[1] *I.e.*, to be presented in the name of the King of England.

[2] Inkstands.

[3] Cp. p. 479.

[4] A Portuguese merchant who was apparently resident at Court. In a letter to Surat (*O. C.*, No. 556) Roe calls him "the prodigal Portugal," and says that he is about to marry an aunt of Mrs. Towerson.

To Captain Martin Pring.

(I. O. Records: *O. C.*, No. 613.)

February 14 [1617-18].

. . . . By way of prouision I haue sent instructions for the voyadge into the Red Sea, to which Master Kerridge must add his for Marchandizing affayres and deliuer you goods to beginn our trade. The mayne obiection is that there is noe great foundation to beare Chardge; to which I answere wee haue many dead Comodities wee must seeke to put off, and may either sell them by frendship or teach a trade by force. With whomsoeuer the ship meetes of the allies of the Portugalls, which are the Decannines or Samoring,[1] they are to vs as enemies. If shee should meete with no booty, yet I suppose they shall not bee denyed trafieque at Mocha, wher certeynly will bee juncks, both of Diue and Dabull and of other Southern Ports, with which (if the Mochers will not accept of our goods) they should [trade?] for Indicoes and other Comodities fitting England or Suratt. The returne of a smalle stock from thence will pay the expence of the ship, towards which Master Kerridge sayth hee can procure freight for 15 or 16,000 *Mamoodies*, which I would accept off as a beginning. Hee doubts it will hynder, the stay at Dabull, but I see noe reason, if wee sett so much the sooner out then vsually the Iuncks doe for the same voyadge off this Coast. Goeing into the Bay of Iasques is more doubtfull; of that I cannot Iudge, but referr it to your consideration if one ship may doe all, or any two, of which I thinck Iasques and the Red Sea of most consequence. . . . A second obiection is that the Grand Signior will embargue our English in his Dominions for our Molesting his trades; to which I say wee goe to offer Peace, to secure his seaes, and not to disturbe any but our enemies that deny vs trade, and by our vsadge many may bee encouraged to augment [adventure?] that way who are now afrayd of Rouers and ouerlayd with tribute or the exactions of the Portugalls. In the Red Sea itselfe shall wee best make the Guzeratts vnderstand their danger and the benefitt of our offer; ther they will bee spoken with at leysure, wher now wee seeke to them at their houses. Nature is easier to deale with when it is a little afrayde.[2]

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[1] The Zamorin of Calicut.

[2] The Bantam factors wrote to the same effect (Jan. 19, 1618: *O. C.*, No. 595):—"For the troubles and abuses of our people by the Gouernor and great men, remedy may be sooner found in the redd sea amongest their neighbour Iunkes then at the Mogulls Court, and better cheape. Nothing but feare keepes a Moore in awe; vse him kindly and he will abuse you, but deale with him in smooth words and nipping deeds and he will respect and reverence you."

Or, if wee are soe Iealous of our frends at Constantinople, how can wee proceede in Persia, the stealing away of which trade will more sharpen the Turk then the rifle of a Iunck or two of Rascalls that hee takes noe Notice off? . . . :

I once mooued you to keepe Close the Sowth shoare[1] for the Chances of the Malaccoas ships and others that in March come in to Goa. Now I aduise you to bee warie, for the Vizeroy, as wee heare, prepares a fleete to goe about the Cape for the Coast of Cormandell and wilbe ready this Month.[2] If you bee alone it is not good to tempt them.

Concerning the Iuncks of Diu, I vnderstand that Mochreb-chan and some Mogolls freight from thence. Wee cannot take notice of on mans from anothers that Mingle with our enemies. I would not spare any of that Port vpon the best Pretence. Our warienes wilbe to keepe the Iunck it selfe; to putt a Merchant and Purser vpon it vntill returne to Suratt. If it bee prooued Mogolls goods and that the King stirr in yt, I know this People; restitution alway makes Peace, and wee shall haue the advantage of some good condition for restitution, and make them feare to freight in the Portugalls and rather offer them selues to vs. Vntill wee show our selues a little rough and busye they will not bee sencible.

The woemen[3] are almost arriued at Court, but I hope I shall depart this towne before, the King goeing out suddenly, which makes mee now take my leaue. I am in your debt for your loue aboue all your other kindnesses, which now you close vp with New. . . . . I assure you honestly I haue loued you 7 yeares for the good disposition and woorth I found in you. If it were any way in my Power I would make it manifest. My woord or report in England you Neede not; yet perhaps not soe well knowne to all as to the Companie. Whatsoeuer I can add to giue you right, either to them or any higher, assure you I will not fayle; or, if I did, it is your fault not too lett mee know which way. But I am gladd both of your assurance and Modesty. Wee liue in a Barberous unfaythfull place; you in the sea with more securitie and Constancye. Pray for vs, that God wilbe Pleased to keepe vs, that among heathens wee may bee as light in darknes;

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[1] In proceeding to Bantam.

[2] Cp. p. 470.

[3] Mrs. Steel, Mrs. Towerson, and Mrs. Hudson. They were accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Golding, the chaplain of the *Anne*, who had at the Cape solemnised the marriage of Steel. The reverend gentleman's devotion to the ladies while at Surat had caused some scandal, and he had been ordered to return to his ship; but, instead of obeying, he slipped out of the city disguised as a native, and went "after the women" to Ahmadábád. Roe sent him back in company with Heynes and the rest, but he escaped from them on the way. Subsequently, he rejoined the fleet and obtained pardon (*O. C.*, No. 635). He seems to have died some time in 1619.

at least that wee shame not the light. I will hope to liue to see you safe returned, and for your happy voyadge, health, aboue all temperall Comforts, wealth and good successe according to your owne desiers, and a Ioyfull arriuall into your Countrie. All the blessings that attended Iacob, when hee went out with a staff and returned with troopes of seruants and heards of Cattell, accompanie you, that in the seas you may find *Machinyma*[1] and at your returne *Bethel.*

. . . . Since the finishing this former came your lettre of the 4th January, by which I perceaue that which I doubted, that it was impossible to supply Iasques; and soe that vnfortunate busines must lye in its wounds vntill better occasion. I haue sent a declaration and Instructions of my intents into the Red Sea,[2] which is as much Commission as I can giue; if Master Kerridge can add to yt any enformation, wee are all for one end. For the ship or ships I referr it to you, and am very well assured of Captain Shillings sufficiency. For Merchants I know not how Master Rastall[3] can bee spared nor with what qualeties the fleete is Prouided. I haue sent my seruant Haynes[4] for one because by offten discourse hee knowes my entents. I hope hee will prooue diligent and honest. . . . .

. . . . In assurance of right I rest quiett, as farr as Master Steele, the woemen and the indiscretion of Master Goulding will suffer mee. I woonder to see him here and shall as soone resend him. I must labor to mend all. I gaue consent for the best to Mistress Steele, but neuer for the minister. Now her husband discouers himselfe; but one of vs must breake in this busines. I expect noe more to heare from you, for the King is entering into the woods. The God of heauen blesse you and all your Company, and send mee once more to liue among men of honesty.

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[1] Mahanaim (Gen. xxxii, 2). [2] See the document which follows.

[3] Thomas Rastell had come out in the 1616 fleet, and was now second at Surat. On Kerridge's departure for England in 1622, Rastell became chief, a post which he held at the time of the visit of Della Valle, who warmly praises him (vol. i, p. 19). He returned to England in 1625, and went out again in 1630, dying at Surat a year later (November 7, 1631). His wife's mother (widow of Alderman Gore) became the second wife of Sir John Coke, who was for some time Secretary of State.

[4] Roe's secretary, in whose neat and legible hand are most of his letters, and the British Museum copy of the diary of which so much use has been made in the present work. He had been "bred a merchant with Alderman Gore," and had been employed in Barbary before he entered Roe's service. As the ambassador's mission was drawing to a close, Heynes was desirous of finding employment under the Company; and Roe, with characteristic disregard of his own convenience, took the present opportunity of complying with this wish. The new factor completely justified his patron's action; he rose steadily in the Company's service, and at the time of his death (August, 1632) was agent in Persia.

A Declaration and Instructions for the shippe entended for the Red Sea, if the Comaunder of the fleete, Captain Martin Pringe, and Master Thomas Kerridge, Cape merchaunt of the English factors, with his Consultation vpon the motions made by Sir Thomas Roe, his Maiesties Ambassadour, doe thinke it fitte to proceed in the Voyadge.

(I. O. Records: *O. C.*, No. 598.[1])

[February 14, 1617-18].[2]

1. The shippe to proceed vpon this voyadge to bee chosen by the Admirall and a Comission from him giuen for theyr warrannte.

2, Having taken in such goodes at Suratt as Master Kerridge shall prouide, as well for a trade at Dabull as Mocha, shee shall accompany the Admirall to Dabull,[3] where they may endevour to putt of all theyr English goodes by faire meanes, or, if not, by the surprise of any juncke, and with them to barter for theyr Comodity fitte for the Red Sea; but to pay for it and to take nothinge els, but only signify that our Intent is to force them to vnderstand the Interest of free Commerce and that they shall not trade into the Red Sea but by our licence, beinge Lordes of the same, and not the Portingalls. At this Porte cannot be spent above eight daies; if you finde any juncke out, you may dispatch in four.

3. Having finished your Intent at Dabull, you shall speedily shape your Course for the Red Sea, and, meeting any juncke of Diu̅ or of any other Porte vnder the Dominion of the Portugall, you shall endevour to take and make prise thereof to the vse of the Company; or of any other people whatsoever beinge in league with our enemy, either of the Samorine or Decanines.

4. Beinge arrived at Mocha with such goodes as shee shall have laden vpon her or such as shee shall gett by trade at Dabull or by reprisall, The Captain and Merchaunts shall sende to the Gouernour of the Province and signify that our Intent is as well to keep the Sea free from Rouers as to demaunde free Commerce at the Porte; and therefore shall require both a safe Conducte

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[1] There is another copy among the *O. C.* duplicates, by which the present version has been checked.

[2] In the absence of a date, Mr. Sainsbury assigns this document to January 20, 1618. But it is evident that the instructions were drawn after it was known that the ship could not go to Persia as well as to the Red Sea, and of this Roe was not aware until about February 14, 1618 (see pp. 482, 491).

[3] As already mentioned (p. 400), this intended visit to Dabhol was abandoned.

for a Merchaunte to come ashoare and his *firman* for the free sale of our goodes; and that if hee bee pleased for times to come to enterteine the English and to graunt them residence, whereby yearly our shipping will haunt his Porte with many sorte of goodes and the Seas bee thereby more secured, that then at Instant hee give his owne Contracte and therein Couenant to procure the Grand Siniors lettres for licence and Confirmation of such priveledges as are already graunted vnto our Nation for theyr abode and trafficque to Constantinople and Aleppo.

5. If this faire motion of trade bee refused, then shall you endeuour to force it by staying and hinderinge the trafficque of all such roaders[1] as you shall fynde in trade, not subiecte to the greate Mogoll, and by exchaung with them put of all your goodes laden vpon the said voyadge; but if you meete any shippe or juncke freighted by the Portingalls or the goodes of any Moore or *Banian* subiecte or inhabitinge within theyr Territorie, of all [such] ships and goodes you shall make prise, signifieing to all persons that you proceed in this Course with the Portingalls and theyr Subiectes only to Compell them to suffer the Seas to be free and Commerce open and not to take any tribute, passe-money or Imposition vpon merchaunts goodes vpon the Sea: that whensoeuer the Portugall shall relinquish this vniust Course, that the English will agree and Consente to the free open trades and liberty of all Nations freindes with them: but if they will adhere and bee tributarie to the Portingalls, wee shall make prise of theyr goodes as the Confederates of our Enemies.

6. You shall require of the Guzuratts to assist you in settlinge a trade at Mocha, and make them vnderstand that wee Intend yearely to visitt that Porte: that wee have offered to safe-Conducte or fraighte theyr goodes vpon as resonable termes as they giue vnto our enemie, which if they shall still refuse to accepte, wee shall remayne Newtralls, so in Case they bee surprised by any Dutch or French Piratts wee will no waye bee tyed to helpe or relive them: and if then they shall better vnderstand themselves and our freindly offer, the Captain and Cape merchaunt shall have full power to make Composition and Agreement with them and to take of them for the present voyadge such Content, eyther on goodes 5 per Cent. at least or by the great, as they shall agree, and shall draw from them a Confession in writinge of theyr good and freindly vsage and of theyr great security by our Company, with an humble petition to the greate Mogoll that hee wilbe pleased to give lycence to all his Subiectes to freight in English shipps aswell for Iasquis as the Red Sea, or otherwise to worke theyr owne safety by any such Composition as between themselves shalbe founde most Convenient, whereby they bee

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[1] Vessels in the road.

deliuered both from the feare of Piratts and from the tributes and exactions vniustly raised vpon them by the Portingalls.

7. Yf you shall obtaine libertie to trade and put of your goodes, I wish you to bee wary you trust not much ashoare, nor many men at once nor any Cheife Commaunder, but only twoe merchaunts in the Company of the Captain and merchaunt of the *Ghehangier*, to whom I haue giuen a passe[1] and who hath promised to assist you in all matters as frendes.

8. The generall scope of this voyadge beinge to begin a trade and to give knowledge to all the seuerall Nations that vse into the Red Sea or give any Composition vnto our Enemies for the free passage vnto any Porte, that wee Ayme at nothinge but to open the wayes for merchaunts: therefore in matter of reprisall you must have especiall reguarde that you ceaze nothing into your full possession but only such goodes as you are assured belonge properly to the Portingalls or theyr Subiectes, for that many merchaunts of India freight in theyr Shippes and may perhapps require here satisfaction; therefore, in Case of such pretence you shall there come to Composition to wafte home theyr goodes at as easy rates as the Portingalls doth, and accordinge to your discretions vse them fayerly. At leastwise you shall keep together the said goodes, putting into any such juncke a merchaunte and a Purser for prouision that nothinge bee ymbezeled away, whereby, if shee prove not good prise, wee may be Constreined to pay more then wee tooke. And with all these Coasters whatsoeuer I hould it fitte that you proceed in trade with them or by Composition then by absolute reprissall, which Course will both awe these people and not give such occasion of dislike as wholy to rifle them; but in Case it be goodes of the Portingalls or of Dabull (having bene refused trade) or of the Samorine or of any of those petty Kinges in league with our enemy, of such you shall make full prize without any restitution and the same keepe vnto the Account of the Honorable Company.

When you shall have finished your trade at Mocha you shall endeuour to keepe Company with the Guzuratts reladen, if so they come out tymely that you may gett into the Roade of Swally by the last of September, and shall with all Curtesy vse the said Guzuratts, but not suffer them to departe vntill you arrive at the Barre of Suratt, where you shall stay them by you and speedily advise to know in what estate our trade and Factors are; and after to proceed accordinge to such directions as you shall receiue from the Ambassadour or Cape merchaunt by his order.

Being necessary to send also vpon the said shippe 2 or 3 merchaunts for the Red Sea, I, being vtterly ignorant of the quality of those now supplied, cannot make absolutely choyce;

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[1] See p. 473.

but am desirous that Edward Heynes may goe as one, because hee hath often heard and must needes vnderstand my purpose in this action, with whom I request Master Kerridge to joyne any other that hee shall in his judgement know sufficient, in which hee will regard his landguage;[1] and in this pointe of the merchaunts that hee, being neare the shipps, see hir provided of such and so many as are fitte and requisite; and in that Case whatsoeuer hee shall doe, I full[y] allow and Consent vnto.

I have herewith sent you the Persians bill that oweth vs money,[2] livinge at Gulkhandah, that yf you meete with any juncke of Dabull, you may pay yourselfe and give them the bill to recouer the debte of the Persian.[3]

To King James.[4]

(Public Record Office: *E. Indies*, vol. i, No. 58).

The Camp of Ghehangeer Sha, greate Mogoll,

15 February, 1617[-18].

May it please your Majestie,

The most gratious reception of my trauells and the Commands which your Maiestie hath vouchsafed to mee, your vnable and vnworthy vassall, haue giuen new life and quickened mee almost in the graue. Ther is no bond more stronge then that by which I am tied to your Majestie as your subiect; but that it hath pleased you out of your Royall grace to giue occasion to my weakenes, that also addeth strength and couradge to a minde already wholy deuoted and offered vp to your Maiesties seruice.

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[1] Linguistic skill. [2] See p. 403.

[3] The expedition to the Red Sea was on the whole a success. The ship employed was the *Anne*, of which Shilling was captain, and William Baffin one of the master's mates; and Salbank, Heynes and Barber were the three merchants told off for the voyage. The cargo, being (as Roe mentions later) of poor quality, did not find a ready sale; but the authorities at Mocha showed the English every courtesy, and the Pasha of Sana gave Salbank two satisfactory *farmâns*. They remained at Mocha from the 14th April to the 20th August, and then returned in company with the Surat junk, as Roe had ordered them to do.

An account of the voyage, written by Heynes, will be found in *Purchas* (vol. i, p. 622).

In *Egerton MS.* 2086 is a letter of Captain Shilling's to Sir Thomas Smythe, written from Swally on the 12th March, 1618, in which he says that if the goods he carries "be nott vendable and that an honest trade vpon equall tearmes Cannott be procured, then I hoop Powder and shoot, Sir Henery Middelltons Comodittie, will passe."

[4] Printed in the *Cal. of State Papers* (*E. Indies*), 1617-21, Preface, p. xxvii, but with one or two slight errors.

The negotiation of Persia, by your Maiestie to mee Committed, was begunn a yeare past by the Factors of India and ouerture made in the name of your Maiestie, of which proceedinge I was vtterly ignorant; but had written some letters and sent diuers propositions in myne owne name, as your Maiesties minister, vnto the Sha-bas, to giue him vnderstandinge of your desires in generall and to discouer to him somwhat of the Portugalls dealings with those who too easily granted them admittance or retraicts of strength. The succeds of both is: the Sha hath sent your Maiestie a very noble lettre, procured by Edward Connock, with diuers lardge and ample Priueledges granted vnto your Maiesties subiects for their acceptance and quiett Commerce, directed for deliuerie vnto Sir Thomas Smyth. There yet are many difficulties, vnconsidered in the beginning, which forbidd mee to giue judgment, eyther of the conueniency or possibilitie of this trade, vntill vpon knowledge of the merchants meanes to Compass it without preiudice to your Maiesties Kingdomes and to their owne profitt and securitie, their farther resolution bee declared. The particulars are both too many and of too low an Elevation to troble your Maiestie, your generall Commande beeinge obeyed. I haue opened my poore vnderstanding in the rest vnto your Maiesties Principal Secretarie, from whom you wilbe pleased to receiue lardger enformation. If I finde by one yeares Experience more that this trade may be made, by vent of the Comodities of your Maiesties Kingdom or by the Industrye of your subiects from diuers Ports, without greater exports of mony or Bullion then Europe is able to beare, considering how many wayes it bleedeth to enrich Asia, I wilbee bould to confirme in your Maiesties name the treaty already begunn, and to add to yt some other Conditions which shall as well make it profitable for your Maiesties estates as easy for your subiects; to which end I haue sent vnder the limitations receiued from Master Secretarie Wynwood, and instructions from the East Indya Companie, a commission to proceede in and perfect this affayre,[1] or tymely to foresee the hazards and inconueniences, that wee may retyre without dishonor.

To the monarch with whom I reside your Maiesties minister I deliuered your Royall letters and presents, which were receiued with as much honor as their barbarous pride and Custtoomes affoord to any the like from any Absolute Prince, though far inferior to that respect due vnto them. I haue strouen, somtimes to displeasure, with their tricks of vnmeasured greatenes rather then to endure any scorne. I dare not dissemble with your Maiestie their pride and dull ignorance takes all things done of duty, and this yeare I was enforced to stande out for the honor of your free guifts, which were sceazed vncivilly. I haue sought to meyntayne

[1] See p. 462.

vpright your Maiesties greatenes and dignitie, and withall to effect the ends of the Merchant; but these two sometymes cross one another, seeing ther is no way to treate with so monstrous ouerweening that acknowledgeth no equall. He hath written your Maiestie a lettre[1] full of good woords, but barren of all true effect. His generall [authorities ?] are yet to publish; what hee will doe I know not. To article on eauen tearmes he auoyds, and houlds mee to his owne Customes of Gouernment by new *firmans* vpon new occasions, in which hee is iust and gracious. It may please your Maiestie to accept the translation, being faythfull. The original in Persian, as yet of vse to vs to vrge him to performe it, I am bould to keepe vntill I shalbee made happy by falling at your feete.

Greater matters then truth I dare not boast of, neyther will steale vayne prayses by false reports. What my endeauor is and how faythfull, what my trauell in the Camp of Confusion, I hope your Maiestie will graciouslie conceiue. This I will presume to auow that I will not liue and suffer your Maiesties Royall name to bee diminished for any Consideration; And, for the success of my employment, that I will establish your Maiesties Subiects in as good tearmes for theire trafique and residences as any strangers or the naturalls themselues enioy, or at last by our force teach them to know your Maiestie is Lord of all the Seeaes and can Compell that by your power, which you haue sought with Curtesie, which this King cannot yett see for Swelling.

The Portugall is not yet wise enough to know his owne weakenes, who rather enuiously hinder vs then like noble enemies hurte vs. Lett your Maiestie bee pleased to giue mee leaue to enforme want of a peace with them (which by your royall authoritie were easyly commanded) makes all these trades of Indya and hopes of Persia heauy and dangerous to the vndertakers.

I dare not troble your Maiestie with more vnnecessarie discourse, but humbly craue pardon for so much intrusion; and that you wilbee pleased not to bee offended, after fiue yeares Pilgrimage, that I take leaue to enioy[2] the happines of those which attend your Presence, desiring the Almightie God to make your reigne so long, so blessed, and so glorious, that your name may bee the obiect of all enuy and the example of all prosperitie.

Your Maiesties most humble vassal and deuoted seruant,

THO. ROE.

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[1] See Appendix B.

[2] In the version already mentioned, this word is read as "enuye, but it seems clear that "enioy" is right. Roe is, of course, speaking figuratively.

To Sir Thomas Smythe.

(Public Record Office: *E. Indies*, vol. i, No. 59.)

Amadauaz,
16 February, 1617[-18].

Sir,

Your acceptation of my endeauours is a confirmation of the same affection which you began towardes mee when I had merited nothing. I now feare that I shall fall into another euill and bee preiudiced by too much expectation.

These Princes and Customes are so Contrarie to ours that I shall trauell much in myne owne eies and performe little in yours. Ther is no treaty wher ther is soe much Prid, nor no assurance wher is no fayth. All I can doe is to serue present turnes. The People are weary of vs. The King hath no content, who expectes great Presentes and Jewelles, and reguardes no trade but what feedes his vnsatiable appetite after stones, rich and rare Peices of any kind of arte. The breefe is I haue sent you a lettre which will show his Promises, but they hould not one Minute. Feare only keepes vs in, and vntill they feele vs once more and that his owne subiectes Petition for vs, wee shall neuer obteyne more then to run out in a Chardgable trade, with much seruitude. My employment is nothing but vexation and trouble; little honor, lesse Profitt. Whatsoeuer I haue done and my opinion in all your affayres, you will fynd in generall lettrs, discourses, and other Papers directed to you.

Only, I protest, to giue you testemony of your Power in me I changed resolution to stay this yeare, which will fullfill my banishment of fiue years. In this tyme what I can add to you I will, for my owne Creditt is deeply engaged, and yet there is noe way to release me, but by a little force.

The Presentes sent this yeare were too good; but (to deale playnly with my frendes) soe farr short of their greedy expectation that they rather disgrace then helpe mee. Yet I cannot bee without vntill the whole Course bee Changed. I will vse none but for your busines, and (if I may advise) I wish you send noe more in the Kinges Name, but only proceed as other Merchantes doe, which is to fit goods that they desier, and the Merchant that goes to Court at the showing to giue one toy for his entrance. This way hath less trouble and Chardge. Wee haue only begott our selues a Custome of slauerie now duly expected.

I was not soe desierous of Command ouer your Seruantes as to procure myself trouble and envy. Master Kerridge was sufficient. Now they ioyntly cast all vpon mee, hoping to overlay mee, vnder Couler of humilytie. I will dischardg myselfe honestly of all I can doe, and may show you an example, if they which should assist crosse me not. I haue stayed Master Kerridge in the

Countrie and am therby obliged to promooue the Companies recompence which he pretendes. I must say truth his Paynes is very great and his Partes not ordinarie; only hee loues dominion, and you shall perceaue by my Courses with him and all others I will not robb him of yt. In the mayne Poyntes I wilbe assistant to prouide your lading in season, and to direct the courses of your trades. The Mechannicque part I must refer to others as burthensome.

I haue receiued from you and the Company some tokens. Such as I shall vse I will make bould with, the rest convert to their vse, with as many thanckes as if I had in them receiued a Pledge and assurance of your affections. The Pearle lies vpon our handes, as beeing either ouerrated, or dearer in England than here. The sizes are too small. With great Pearle and stones according to the Tariff[1] sent you you may Compasse this trade to Content, and by no other way.

I haue recouered, by the kindnes of your Captains, a better constitution of health then formerly; but I feare this new remooue will make mee relappes. Godes wilbe done.

I thanck you for Jhon Hatch,[2] your bible, Peice, and oyle—all your particular loue and kindnes. Beleeue mee, Sir, I haue noe barren and vnthanckfull hart. Yet I send you Nothing but the common Phrases of such as are indebted. If I liue, you shall find what impression your loue hath made in mee; and if I dye, you shall loose more then yet you know of, because you cannot know my hart.

The ship by mee sent out wherin you were an aduenturer is returned rich, but I cannot here who hath shared her. I left all her writinges with Sir Jhon Brookes. I am not yet soe rich as to send home any mony. If Master Christopher Brookes neede any for my vse, you wilbe pleased to pay him the 100*l.*[3] due for my seruantes wages, which I haue supplyed here. If not, I hope you will enter it as an encrease into the Joynt stock, and at the devision of the last soe order mee and my part of aduenture as it may beecome profitable to mee. These courses I vnderstand not; but as by you I came to haue interest, soe vnto you I referr mee.

What was done in the busines of Persia the last yeare and since by Edward Connaughte, many relations will signifie; wher I should beginn I know not. The Priuiledges are very good, but

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[1] See p. 485. [2] See p. 423.

[3] There seems to be no information extant as to this ship or its destination. On February 20, 1618, Mr. Christopher Brookes applied to the Company for 1000*l.* to meet a debt for which he and Roe were pledged, producing at the same time a general power of attorney from the latter. The Court granted the request, on the condition that Brookes gave a bond for repayment should Roe disapprove of the transaction.

the Port, and ground to proceede in the trade, are yet vncerteyne. If you send next yeare meanes to supply it, wee shall proceed, I hope to generall Content. The neglect of mee last yeare makes me vnwilling to bee too forward and hath stirrd vp Master Kerridge, who takes himselfe wronged that any thing is Committed to me, to many peruerse disputes. I know not how I stand in his fauour. Having opened Connaughtes lettres to him for my information, which I could not send and bee tymely enformed,[1] he takes it hotly; but I haue done nothing but what is just. I looke into no more then your busines, and in that I will not bee kept in Ignorance. This is the benefitt, that if wee cannot agree (which I by all meanes endeauor) yet wee shall both bee wary of doeing ill; and when euer I shalbe accused, it wilbe my honor. I write this because Master Kerridge doth magnifie his owne successe in Connock, and I proceede as if it concerned not mee; but vpon the groundes of reason whatsoeuer in that busines can bee effected shall haue both our helpes: he for loue to his owne proiect, I for your generall good.

I haue signified in my generall lettres that I haue sent home Anthony Wallys and some others. . . . . The rest of your seruants are for the most very Ciuill. If any ouerspend, I cannot abbridge that which they pretend Necessarie. What I can doe, not to drawe all mens ill will vpon mee, I shall by counsayle; if I find dangerous or grosse faultes, I will stop them.

The first is Master Steele, who brought to sea a mayd, Captain Towersons seruant, but great with Child, and married her at the Cape vnder a bush. I could not perswade Captaine Towersons returne nor his wiues, though I offered conditions of your losse, nor send her home alone and anew with Child among men. He pretended great matters. All your seruantes were willing to disgrace him. I was both vnwilling and afrayd to doe yt, but Consented to bring vp his artificers, who Prooue his seruantes for his owne endes. I presented them to the King; but Steele getting accesse as linguist to his Paynter in Priuat[2] (who was pretended to mee to bee your seruant, sent by you as cheefe in the water

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[1] See p. 482.

[2] Of this incident Purchas (who heard it from Steel himself) gives, in his *Pilgrimage* (p. 534) the following account: "Master Steele, hauing a proiect of Water-works, to bring the water of Ganges [*sic*] by Pipes &c., carried fiue men him to the Mogol, who gaue them entertainment with large wages by the day and gaue to each an Arabian Horse. One of these was a painter, whom the Mogol would haue to take his picture; and because hee could not speake the language, Master Steele (who could speake the language of the Court, which is Persian) was admitted (a thing not permitted to Men) into the Mogols lodgings, where he did sit for the said Limner. At his entrance, the chiefe Eunuch put a cloth ouer his head that he should not see the Women (which hee might heare as hee passed, and once also saw

woorke) entreaged them and himselfe so into the Kinges seruice that I cannot without hazarding much displeasure enforce them eyther to retyre or to follow that they promised you. He surely either hopes to supplant mee, and to succeed (for so some tyme his vanetye Pretendes), or els he hath quitted his Countrie. I dare not trust him with goodes, seeing hee will follow the Court with his wife, notwithstanding all oathes and Couenantes, and at as great Chardge as I almost. How he pretendes to maynteyne it, I cannot foresee. This only I will trye him with Patience; keepe your Purse from him; if he runn right, I will assist him; if not, I will doe my utmost next yeare to force him home, when the King is as weary of him as all wee. I assure you hee is now our affliction, and may bee my shame, for euer yeilding to suffer him to land.

Captain Towerson Pleades leaue to trade. Hee wilbe deceiued in expectation of his frendes and I know not what in these cases [to] doe. All the ill offices are cast vpon mee. You, Sir, must bee pleased to beare part of the burthen. I will consent noe farther then I may defend my selfe, and yet would not bee ill spoken off of all men. . . . .

To Conclude, Sir, I am infinitely weary of this vnprofitable imployment, the successe wherof is not that I aymed at for you, and that which I hate in others, to gett an ill name. But hee that will please all men can neuer please the honestest. My Comfort is you professe you wilbe as Carefull of mee as of your owne sonn; and at that I take you as a father. Examine all my Courses; if I shame you in any, renounce mee and this Name of

Your truly vnfeyned frend and adopted sonne,

THO. ROE.

Remember my seruice to your ladie, and I beseech almighty God to blesse you and all your famelie. Master Jhackon[1] will I hope giue testemonie of my desieres to doe him any Pleasure.

TO CAPTAIN MARTIN PRING.

(I. O. Records: *O. C.*, No. 628.)

Baroch, March 10, 1617[-18].

Yt is now a month and more since I heard from you or Surratt; soe that I was Confident the ships were dispeeded. The misery

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them, the Eunuch purposely putting on a thinner cloth ouer his head), there being of them some hundreds."

Purchas also relates the friendship which sprang up between Mrs. Steel and the daughter of the Khán-khánán. This lady was Jahángír's hostess upon his arrival at Ahmadábád, and the interest she took in Steel's wife no doubt strengthened his position at Court.

[1] See p. 439 *n*.

of these wrongs are insufferable, yf yt be the true Cause that your goods Could nott be despatched, which I by a former heard was donne vpon the arivall of Shaher-mull. I hope to finde a way out for my self and others. Steele will soon vanish and Come to nothing; affliction must humble him.

I am sorry to heere the *Ann* hath no other Cargason[1] then the refuse of India. I meddled nott in the Subservient parts of trade to apoint what other goods, butt expected the wisedom of the factors would have sent a tryall of other sorts. I Can make no other Collection but that they desire nott any great prosperity to yt. God will mend vs all and turne honest wayes to the best. I am Confident on the grounds that Surratt will never be a trade vnles the red Sea both Supply yt and awe the Guzeratts. This yeare I only sought the way and occasion; but I know well by private provizions they are nott Ignorant what had been fitt, and yf yt fayle I shall well acquite my self. Those of Messolapatan I feare write at randon, or els there is great Change since their last..... Your letter desires my resolucion for the *Annes* keeping Company to Dabull. Yf by advice or other former experiences the Iuncks of that porte be departed or that yt be dangerous to loose tyme for getting in, then you may direct hir right for hir Course; butt yf nott, the Surprize of any goods there fitt for the red Sea would much advantage hir and be fittlier donn then att the roade at Mocha for interuption of quiett trade, which I ayme att. Butt yf yt soe fall out, yet I wish you to doe somewhat yf you may, and to send the Persians lettres as parte of payment. The noise of yt will doe good heare. I know in former yeares the ships of this Coast haue sett out later; butt in that point I Cannott resolve, but must leave yt to them who know the voiadges. I am well pleased that Ioseph Saltbanck[2] vndertakes the voyadge. Heynes stands nott vpon place, and the ould man loves me.

You are nott soe desirous to see me as I to Confer with you. Beleeve me, I am reddy to breake for want of an honnest free Conference and advice in the Companies buissines. But I am weary; yt is Impossible, and I will not stay you an hower. God in heaven blesse you, and send me once among men; for these are monsters. The trouble and falce hartednes of our owne I will trample on in tyme. You know nott these men nor, I hope, never shall. The god of heaven again and againe blesse you and all your fleet.

[P.S.] I wish nott that the *Ann* wayt vpon the princes ship outward though she goe nott to Dabull, butt loose her and leave her to her fortune, and that they know that their detention of our goods was the Cause and that we will nott doe them Courtesye for such vsadge. Yf we doe, they will yearely practice ytt.

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[1] For the Mocha voyage.

[2] See p. 101.

To the Agent and Factors at Surat.

(I. O. Records: *O. C.*, No. 645.)

Crowda,[1] April 26 [1618],
Sunday night, if the raynes have not washt away a day.

Your Coppie and letter I received tonight att Crowda. By myne yesterday you will know I mett your two seruantes and missed myne, but now haue all I expected.

Your offer to meet mee shortens all answers. I shalbe att Baroch, god willing, on tewsday night, not resting att Vncleseare,[2] because my tentes must attende passage. You shalbe welcome to the remaynes of my wine.

I Forgott not to trie the pearles, but Finde the price as Farr below the Courte as the proffitt of laying out mony two months will aske. I will not Consente that you pay Isack beage a *pice* of any new dewty nor ould, if vniuste. Bid him, if hee dare,

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[1] Roe's movements at this period are a little doubtful. On February 16 he was at Ahmadábád, preparing to follow the Mogul. Four days later he was still there, for at that date the King's letter for England was delivered to him (see Appendix B). By March 10, however, he had abandoned his intention and was at Broach. No hint is given as to the reasons for the change of plan; possibly, however, on learning that the Emperor had merely gone on a short hunting journey, he had taken the opportunity of proceeding to Burhánpur, where the factors had been very disorderly; or it may be that the Prince was at that city, and for some reason or other a visit to him was necessary. At the date of the present letter we find him at "Crowda" on his return journey. This place we may identify with confidence as Karodra, a village at the point where the road to Broach, *viâ* Sivan, turns off from the main road from Burhánpur to Surat. The distance of Karodra from Broach (42½ miles) would permit of his making the journey in two days; and its position with reference to Surat (11 miles off) meets the requirements of the case as regards the time indicated for delivery of letters, etc. It may be thought strange that, if he were so near Surat, he should not have gone into that city, or at least have waited at Karodra for the promised visit from Kerridge. But as regards the first alternative, it must be remembered that Roe could not visit Surat without a certain amount of ceremony, for which he was probably unprepared; while the want of accommodation at Karodra, and the season of the year, will explain why he preferred to push on to Broach, where there was a comfortable factory to rest in.

The suggestion in the *Calendar of State Papers (E. Indies)* of "Brodera" [*i.e.*, Baroda] for "Crowda" is evidently inadmissible.

It has been thought best not to overcrowd the map of Roe's journeyings by including this excursion, especially as the route cannot be laid down with absolute certainty; but no difficulty will be experienced in following it.

[2] Ankleswar, on the south bank of the Narbadá, opposite Broach.

tell the prince I will haue right for all Injuries, and that vppon his shipp.

Master Steele doubtlesse hath had a fall. His owne wayes were enemye enough. He Followed mee to Brampoore, and receaued once more good counsell. I pittie him whether he take it or no.

I perceaue your latter seruant carried a good supplie number one, and that you haue passed a better by Amadauaz, though vppon creditt. You haue taken a course that will in your Comodetie only helpe pay your Intreste, besides the Imployment now in best season. I haue not heard From Agra since the second bills I sent For their debtes acknowledged receaued. Yours Firste by Amadavaz were new written returned by their owne two expressers that brought their accountes downe. I doubt not come safe, and suppose that in my packetts yours are miscaried. I dessigned him to direct to Amadavaz, because that Factorie would beste know my wayes, and I heard of one vppon the way, that is gone to Mandoe. Muddo will returne within tenn dayes to Amadavaz, I truste with good newes of godes mercy to them.

I sent Sprage to Gulchanda vppon good reasons.[1] Itt had bene fitter hee had gone sooner, and in my opynnyon Master Saltbanke should haue procecuted my order, which was indeede more needefull then the Red Sea without my knowledge. I could not conceaue that there was any neede of more helpe att Agra, when you lessened one of the Number I appoynted and you consented to sende thether. Whensoeuer hee goes, I am sure hee can serue no other turne then come downe with a *Caffila*. His merchandiz I haue tryed, and you haue seene his writeing. Hee will returne tyme enough for that hee is Fitt. Captain Shilling hath neyther bill nor Coppie of the debtes,[2] butt a letter written to mee to Forbeare two months (now four expired).

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[1] A letter from one of the factors at Burhánpur to Agra, in August, 1618 (*O. C.*, No. 676) says that "att his lordships beinge heere Sprage tould many tales" of his fellow factors, "and it is his Lordshipps quallity to fauore those that tell tales, though neuer such knaues, and therefore hath made Sprage a merchant, who expected to haue bene sent home in disgrace." The object of Sprage's mission was the same as in the previous year, viz., the recovery of the debt due from the fugitive Persian (p. 403). A rumour reached Surat some time after that he had managed to find the defaulter at Golconda, but "that the said Persian was forceably taken from him at this Towne, and Sprage also very much abused." When Bonner's fleet visited Dabhol in the spring of 1619, inquiry was made as to the truth of this report, "but they denied euer to haue seene or knowne any such men, but tooke notice from vs to apprehend both or either if they should at any time happen on them" (*Purchas*, vol. i, p. 657). Sprage's fate was never known, but the Court Minutes (October 6, 1624) record that he died in the East Indies.

[2] The Persian's debt, which was to be recovered from any Dabhol vessel met with (see p. 495).

If wee bee paid it is worth labour; if nott, itt will Justefie any reprisall, because wee haue demaunded Justice. If both, wee are once aforehand, which wee were never with a moore. Master Fettiplace is of opynnyon it had bene recouered if prossecuted laste yeare; and soe am I.

I hope soe soone to meete as that I neede say nothing of the Teeth; but I wish you remember no price will recompence the stay of our Fleete for three fourths ladeing. Six months day is not for vs; but if you were sure of mony att three, I am sure of Creditt if Fetteplace liue.

When your advices come from the South,[1] I pray send me full Coppies, and soe I shalbe att large informed.

That I had a full parte of the raynes my laste[2] will signifie; but the domage of the Cloth you neede nott feare, though the merchants were in a house. I saw itt thatched. If that gone For Agra had such another as I attending, itt might bee drie in a ryuer.

I hope to meete you within two dayes,[3] to laugh away my Journy; till when God keepe you.

I pray you bring the Coppie of this with you, For I am weary.[4]

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[1] From Bantam.

[2] Not extant.

[3] The road from Surat to Broach joined Roe's route at Sivan; so that there was a chance that Kerridge would meet or overtake him before Broach was reached.

[4] From this date we hear nothing more of Roe until August. One incident of the time has, however, been preserved for us by Terry (p. 242), viz., an outbreak of the plague, from which the English suffered considerably. Jahángír, who, as well as Sháh Jahán, was laid up with it, says (in the *Túzak*) that although widespread it was not generally fatal. "The city Amadavar," says Terry, "(at our being there with the King) was visited with this Pestilence in the month of May, and our family was not exempted from that most uncomfortable visitation; for within the space of nine dayes seven persons that were English of our family were taken away by it; and none of those which dyed lay sick above twenty houres, and the major part well and sick and dead in twelve houres, as our Surgeon (who was there all the Physician we had), and he led the way, falling sick at mid-day and the following Mid-night dead. And there were three more that followed him, one immediatly after the other, who made as much hast to the grave as he had done . . . . All those that died in our family of this pestilence had their bodyes set all on fire by it, so soon as they were first visited, and when they were dying, and dead, broad spots of a black and blew colour appeared on their brests; and their flesh was made so extreme hot by their most high distemper that we who survived could scarce endure to keep our hands upon it. It was a most sad time, a fiery trial indeed . . . All our family (my Lord Ambassadour only excepted) were visited with this sickness and we all, who through Gods help and goodnes outlived it, had many great blisters, fild with a thick yellow watry substance, that arose upon many Parts

Translate of the Firman for Coja Arabs House in Suratt, sent downe 3d August, 1618.[1]

(I. O. Records: *O. C.*, No. 675.)

There hath come to vs a petition from the English resident in Suratt: That there was a house belonging to Coja-Arab Turbethee,[2] lying in Suratt, for which the said English haue, as they affirme, giuen mony for the tyme of three yeares to the people of Coja Arab, and accordingly haue taken a writing in testemony of the same of the sayd Coja Arab or his assignes. [Whereof?] take knowledge; and if it bee so, and that the owner of the sayd house bee content that the English shall remayne and abide in the sayd house, then is it our pleasure that they abide in the sayd house; but if the sayd English haue not payd or giuen the sayd rent aforehand for the tyme of three yeares, but that they remayne therin by force, contrarie to his likinge, vpon receipt hereof you shall putt the sayd English foorth therof and deli[uer] therof into the hands of the sonne of the sayd [ ] therof according to his will; and in lieu therof shall [giue the?] sayd English another fitt house, such as shalbe to their content; and hereof signifie vnto mee the answere of the premises.

Articles proposed to the Prince Sultan Coronne, lord of Amadauaz and Suratt, by the Ambassador, vpon the breach with the Portugalls, August 15, 1618.[3]

(I. O. Records: *O. C.*, No. 678.)

1. That the Prince had receiued the English nation into his protection and favour, and had concluded peace and ametie with them, according to the command of the great kyng, and hereby doth giue notice to all his Governor, Leiutenant and other officers

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of our bodyes, which, when they brake, did even burn and corrode our skins, as it ran down upon them."

Terry also mentions (p. 380) that while at Ahmadábád he witnessed the spectacle of a malefactor being stung to death by snakes.

[1] In Roe's own hand. For the circumstances of the grant see p. 510 *n.*

[2] Probably Túrbati, *i.e.*, of Túrbat (perhaps Túrbat-i-Haideri, in N.E. Persia).

[3] In Roe's own hand. Endorsed: "Articles and Treaty with the Prince, Amad., August, 1618." The occasion of the "breach with the Portugalls" is not clear, but possibly it arose from the dispute described in the Surat letter quoted later (p. 517). From this it would appear that the natives for a time resisted the payment claimed for the *cartaz* of the Gogo junk, and "made greate shew off warrs." As the junk lost her voyage through the dispute, it must have begun at least as early as March (the usual time of sailing), but it may have continued until the date of the present document.

of Suratt and all his other Signories, to pu[b]lish the same and to obey it.

2. In consideration of this treaty, and that the Portugalls are common enemies to their peace and traficque, it shalbe lawfull for the english to land with their armes and to pass with them for defence of their persons and goods; and if the sayd Portugalls should attempt any thing by sea agaynst the sayd English or the ships of the King and Prince, that then the Governors of Suratt should deliuer to the English as many frigatts as they should need for their mutuall succor, and in all poynts of releeue and succour should assist them as frends and as the naturalls of these kyngdomes.

3. That it should bee lawfull for the english to buy or hyre any house in his ports, where they might quiettly dwell and no man to disturbe or displace them; and therin house their goods sufficiently and safely; and that neyther Governor nor other officer should entermeddle neyther with them nor their goods, but, in case they were not or could not of them selues prouide sufficient housing, that then the Governor should assist them and procure for them a safe and quiett habitation.

4. That the Governor of Suratt and other officers should receiue and dispeed the English Ambassador with honor and curtesie, and see him well housed during his stay in Suratt, and that he [be ?] offered no force nor affront to him nor to any of his seruants, but they might liue, goe, and pass at their pleasure.

5. And if it should fall out that they could not agree with the owner for the house they now resided in, hauing paid mony before hand, the Governor should cause the remayner to bee repayd to the sayd English.

6. That it should bee lawfull for the sayd English to land any sort of goods and to relade, at their pleasure; and vpon the land in any part to trade, traficque, buy and sell according to their owne will; and that the judges and officers of the *Alfandicaes* should not deteyne their goods longer then to take account and to agree for customes as by former treaty and therin should giue them despatch, and in no sort nor vpon any pretence should stay or take by force or deteyne any of their goods contrarie to the owners will, nor should doe them any Injurie or violence whatsoeuer; and that for jewells, pearles and all sorts of that nature they should demand no custome nor duty; and that vpon the wayes to and from their ports no exaction or duty should be taken nor demanded, but only at their port, according to custome.

7. That the sayd English might liue in their owne houses and among them selues according to their owne religion and lawes, and for that respect no Governor, *Cazy*, nor other should doe them any affront nor in any sort trouble or molest them.

8. That if any quarrell or other controuersie whatsoeuer did arise among the english, that the Governors nor any other officers

should not intermeddle, but leaue it wholy to the President of their owne nation; and if any English did escape or flye away from their obedience and seruice, the Governors should assist to take and deliuer him into the hands and power of the English to doe in all thing[s] among themselues justice according to their owne lawes; but that in case any difference of what kynd soeuer happened betweene the English and any moore or *Banyan*, the Governors and other officers in their place should take notice and doe justice according to the offence or complaynt of eyther syde.

9. That the Linguist and Brokars seruing the English should haue free libertye to speake and deliuer any thing in the behalfe of their masters, and should haue licence to bargayne, traficque, sell, or buy for them, and to doe them any other seruice; and for such occasion should not bee subject to any question or account nor any way prohibited nor molested.

10. That all presents beeing showed at the Custome house, that the officers might avoyd deceipt, beeing *chopped* by both parts, should bee deliuered to the hands of the English to send to the Court at their pleasure.

11. That in all causes of complaynt or controuersie the Governors and *Cazies* of the place should doe them speedy justice and protect them from all Injuries or oppressions whatsoeuer, and should ayd and entreat them as frends with curtesie and honor; for that so it is the command of the Great Kyng, who hath giuen them his securitie, and that therfore it pleaseth the Prince to make declaration and confirmation of the sayd treaty by this writing, agaynst which no man shall presume to doe contrarie.

written vnder-neath:

That which I demand is bare justice and which no man can deny that hath a hart cleare and enclined to right, and no more then the Lawes of Nations doth freely giue to all strangers that arriue, without any contract; and in no case so much as the great kyng doth promise and command. If it please the Prince to Confirme these articles freely and without ill meaning or collusion and to command that they bee obeyed precisely, I shall rest content and shall giue satisfaction to my master and to my nation; but if not, and that any part bee refused or written fraudulently, according to former experiences, Then I desire the Prince to take knowledge that I wilbe free of my woord giuen the great kyng in his presence and of all blame or inconuenience that may happen after it, hauing giuen promese vpon these conditions or els to bee at liberty.

After almost 3 yeares experience of the pride and falshood of these people, that attended only aduantage and were gouerned by priuat interest and appetite, I was forced to relinquish many

poynts often insisted vpon, when I could gett nothing, and to make offer of these few as the most necessarie to settle a trade and which might giue the least offence and might pass with ease, leauing the rest to the Generall order of the kyng to receiue justice from our Procurador Generall; and therfore seemed content and deliuered it vp to the Princes *Diuon*[1] for consideration and answere; who excepted almost agaynst all, or agaynst all that might serue to giue vs ease. But after many disputes I went to the Prince and had there read and discussed the articles as followeth:

To the first, it was wholy agreed vnto.

To the second, to lend vs frigatts was agreed vnto, but more for the defence and bringing in of their owne ship then for good will to vs; yet it passed sufficient for both. But in no case would the Prince consent that wee might land or weare armes in Suratt. First, they offered mee and my seruants liberty; after, for ten merchants, and to more would not yeild, but that they should leaue their armes in the Custome house to bee deliuered at returne. They instanced the disorder and quarreling of our people, the offering to take Suratt, anno 1616, the erecting a bell,[2] and many woords giuen out that the English would fortefie their house or surprise the Castle, with many more foolish jealousies arising from our owne faults. So that I consented, to cleare all, to the grant of ten at a tyme and the merchants residing, on condition that other articles were granted sufficient for our securitie, and that our people going in defence of their goods to any other Inland Cytty might pass with their armes for their guard agaynst theeues and exactions vpon the way.

To the third, it was absolutly refused vpon no conditions that wee should buy or build a house, nor hyre none neare the Castle or vpon the water; but that wee should haue giuen vs in the Cytty, in convenient place, a good, strong and sufficient house, one or more as wee needed, wher wee should liue for our rent, as wee could agree, and no man should putt vs out; and that the Governor should see vs furnished and prouided of such habitation to our owne liking.

To the fourth, it was fully agreed vnto.

To the fifth, it was agreed vnto; but withall they declared that that house of Coja Arab wee should not haue vpon any conditions; first, because our earnest sute gaue them suspition; next, because it was the ancient mynt; thirdly, because it stood agaynst their great *mesquite*, and offended the moores, especially our people pissing rudely and doing other filthines against the walls, to the dislike of the mahometans, who with reuerence reguard their holy places; lastly, because there was a rumor that wee ment

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[1] Afzal Khán.

[2] See p. 467.

to surprise the said *mesquite* and being of stone and flatt at the topp it was supposed that wee intended to make [it ?] our fort and to annoy the Castle therefrom ; which, though it was a most friuoulous, Idle, impossible suspition, yet they averring it arose from som rash speeches of some of our owne, they would not yeild; and that, seeing they offered us the choyce of all the Towne, wee could show no materiall reason why only that house would serue us.[1]

To the sixt, it was fully agreed vnto.

To the seuuenth, it was [a]greed vnto.

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[1] The identification of the various factories occupied by the English at Surat would be an interesting and useful task for some local antiquary. Their first abode, the position of which is not indicated, was quitted in the middle of 1616 for one belonging to Khoja Aráb, "rented at 600 *mamoodies* per anno, which hath a Coupple of faire warehowses and is made reasonable Comodious for our dwelling, though with the smaleste" [*Surat Letter-book, s.d.* June 14, 1616; see also the agreement in the I. O. Records (*O. C.*, No. 443 I), which, by the way, is wrongly dated in the *Cal. of State Papers* as Feb. 7, 1617, instead of May 27, 1616]. Farewell, in his *East India Collation*, describes it as having "an orchard, and pleasant walks vpon the roofe (after the Spanish and the Moorish building)." The situation of this building should not be difficult to fix from the particulars here given; it had been once the city mint, and was close to the Kájí Masjid, and not far from the castle—in about the same position, it would seem, as the ruined house now known as the *Wálandani kothi* (Dutch building), which is reputed to have been once the Dutch factory The possession of this substantial dwelling by the English was much objected to by the local authorities, as appears from the text; indeed, in the quarrels which took place in November, 1616, an attempt was made to force the English to abandon their "fort" and live in a thatched house, but this was successfully resisted. In July, 1618, a further endeavour appears to have been made to oust them, on the ground that the house was wanted for the Prince, "being anciently his Mint" (cp. the *farmán* printed on p, 506, and the letter from Afzal Khán to Surat in I. O. Records: *Treaties*, vol. i, p. 61). They retained possession, however, till the expiry of their lease in the middle of 1619, when they were forced to look out for a fresh dwelling, their choice being limited by orders from the prince that they were not to be suffered to buy or build a factory, nor to hire one near the waterside (*O. C.*, No. 818). By one of the clauses of the agreement concluded in 1625 between Rastell and the chiefs of Surat, it was stipulated that the English should be given a lease of Khoja Aráb's house, but whether they ever returned thither is uncertain; nor is it clear which was the factory referred to by Della Valle (1623) and Herbert (1626), and the one that was successfully defended against Sivaji in 1664 and 1670. Ovington, in 1689, describes the factory as a commodious building in the north-west quarter of the city, held of the Mogul, who permitted the rent to be spent mostly in repairs or augmentations. At some later period a move was made to the building on the river bank in the *Mulla chaklo* (Mulla's ward), which is still standing and is to-day pointed out as the English factory.

To the eight, it was agreed vnto that in causes of difference among ourselues it should wholy bee referred to the English; but in case the controuersie were with More or Gentile, it should bee referred to the Governor or officers proper to doe justice. But to deliuer vp any english that fled, it was refused, vpon pretence if they turned moore they could not refuse them protection; to which I replyed that wee would neuer consent that any should leaue his fayth, for under that coulor they might robb vs of all our goods. After much contention it was yeilded vnto, because I utterly refused all if that libertye were left to any ill-mynded person.

To the ninth, it was fully agreed vnto.

To the 10, it was agreed vnto, the presents beeing opened and seene, that vnder coulor of them the Prince should not bee deceiued of his rights, and, sealed, should bee deliuered to the English. But they added that if the sayd pretended presents were not giuen, that then in future tymes they should eyther pay custome or not bee deliuered to the English; which, though most base, and in our power to giue any or none, I consented too; but especially because ells I could haue nothing, for these presents trouble all our busines.

To the 11, it was agreed vnto.

Hauing thus gotten what I could, a draught was made to this effect and giuen to the Secretarie writer of *firmans* to bee digested into forme, and was sealed and sent vnto mee. But comming to reade yt, I found prohibition to land with any sort of armes, nor no english in Suratt to weare swoord, dagger, or other weapon but a knife, my selfe only excepted and nine that I would nominate as my seruants, and in all other poynts with the like falshood and show of wicked cunning malice, not once mentioning free trade nor libertye vpon the way to pass without exactions, nor any other poynt faythfully sett downe according to meaning and good intention, but mixed with exceptions and Cauills to bring us into more danger and trouble. I had taken Leaue of Kyng and Prince and could not come to complayne without leaue, and they would also know or feare my intention that should aske yt, and so hynder mee. Whervpon I sent backe the *firmaen*, vtterly refusing it, and withall these reasons ensuing:

First, that for this vnwoorthy suspition of our ill intents to disarme us utterly, it was a signe of no frendship, good meaning, nor fauour toward us, and for no respect I would take any so disho[no]rable conditions, but keepe our armes and vse them agaynst our enemies or any that should wrong us.

Neyther could I see the face of my soueraygne lord the Kyng of England and report to him I had made peace with the Ghehangier, who had giuen us full libertye of trade, and to that effect had written his lettres, and at the same instance bee contradicted by an vnder treaty with the Prince, for that one of these must

needes seeme false and counterfayt; and the later most vnjust and such as our enemies could show no more malice; that eyther wee would be frends as wee ought to bee, or enemies declared. How could I command my countrimen to draw their swoords in defence of the Kyngs and Princes ships at sea, which I had promised, when the Prince will not suffer them to weare their armes for their owne defence? That my Nation were men and reguardfull of their honor, and would neuer obey mee that had so neglected them, nor doe any seruice for them that so mistrusted and disgraced them.

That in the tymes of peace with the Portugalls they neuer demanded nor offered any such condition; nor yet did command the like vnto the Hollanders,[1] who were crept in and offered no seruice nor assistance to the Kyng, and who in all parts sought to gett footing and to build forts, as was experienced in Mesolapatan, Belligate,[2] the Moluccaes and other places, but that the English neuer desired nor needed any such retraicts, but came in peace to traficque in all these parts as merchants vnder the protection of the Kyngs or lords of the same.

That hereby wee were exposed vnto the power of all theeues and Robbers on the wayes; wee passing yearly to Amadauaz and other parts with great summes of mony and Goods, could not keepe them, in a Countrie so ill gouerned, with kniues; and that it was an infinite shame and scorne to the Prince to feare that a few men could surprise or take so populous a cytty as Suratt, and build forts in an hower, especially wee hauing many pledges of our fayth and good meaning in so many parts of Indya by the residence of our people and goods, one of whose liues wee would not loose for 1000 moors.

Lastly, that all other poynts agreed vnto were left out or falsifyed utterly, which demonstrated ill meaning toward us; and that it was more honorable to deale clearly and to prohibitt us all trade, giuing us license to depart; which now I only desired, and I would soone contract our people, or settle them in Goga and Cambaya, vnder the Protection of the Kyng, whose gratious grants were to us sufficient securitie and vnder whom wee were assured to liue in safety; for vpon no tearmes I would eyther accept this *firman* or stay in the port of Suratt, nor goe downe to yt, but seeke another way to ship my selfe, and after to doe that which was reason; recalling the promise and woord I had giuen before the Kyng, and did make protestation that I was guiltless of all the euill that might succeed by this unfaythfull dealing.

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[1] "Vpon this was sent a *firmaen* to disarme the Hollanders, and that none of them in Suratt might wear armes, nor other Christian."—*Marginal note by Roe.*

[2] Pulicat, on the Coromandel coast.

To this I added a commission sent to the next fleete to disarme all the shipps and frigatts of the Princes ports (as appears by the Coppy), which I translated into Persian and sent with these former reasons and protestations to the Princes officers and the Originall to Suratt to bee published there; and left *firmaen* and all these in the Hands of Afzulchan.

A day after, new consultation was called; and in the night I was sent for and had lardge dispute vpon all particulars, pronoun[cing] that, if any woord were written of disarming us, I would refuse [it?] and if all the mentioned conditions were not clearly granted I would proceed according to the declaration made. At last Afzull chan freely confessed the truth, that the *firmaen* was written with no good meaning, showing their feares more at lardge; and wee came to agreement that the clause of disarming should bee left out on their parts, but that I should couenant that our people should not land in Hostile manner to annoy the peace, and many other articles which appears by my contract giuen;[1] which was vrdged in respect of the *Ann* in the red Sea, who had well followed directions,[2] and was the only cause which drew these to agreement, showing them the way to seeke justice. Vpon my agreement and Couenant to which articles demanded on their part, and after many Intricate and perplexed disputes, a new draught was made of all my demands,

[1] No contemporary copy of this contract has been preserved. There is, however, at the India Office (*Treaties*, vol. i), what appears to be a transcript of it, made in 1789, which runs as follows:—

"The Cause of this Writing is that Sir Thomas Roe, Ambassador of the King of England, hath given his word and faith for the Business underwritten in certain Articles that it shall be accordingly performed."

"First......That the English shall not build any House in or about Suratt without leave obtained of the King; but only hire a convenient House for their Merchants and Merchandise, in which they shall abide till their Ships arrive."

"Moreover, that no Goods that come in the Ships, that may serve for the King's use, be hid or concealed from the Officers of the Haven of Suratt. And for such things as the Governor will buy for the King's pleasure, if they cannot agree upon the price, they [shall?] be sealed up with the Officers' Seal and sent to the Court to the English there residing, who shall shew them to the King, and if he shall like them they shall agree of Price. Further, that no Man shall touch or open any of those things that shall be brought for Presents to the King or Prince; but that they shall be brought untouched to the English Ambassador at the Court to deliver to the King."

"Lastly, that during the abode of the English at Suratt they shall do no wrong or hurt to any, but shall pay the Dues and Customs agreed on heretofore; and on these conditions it shall be lawful for them to come and go freely, in the same manner as the King's Subjects or other Christians that abide there."

"*Endorsed*: Articles requird by Sultan Coronne, and signed by me."

[2] See p. 494.

and anew agreed vnto, with promise that, now they had receiued satisfaction by my reasons and opening the course of our trade and intents, they would satisfy the Prince and procure confirmation with loyall and true meaning, and that, all jealousies layd aside and forgotten on both parts, wee should liue in full quiett and peace and bee receiued as frends, and justice done in all our occasions; with many protestations of fayth and complements, not to bee hoped after in performance.

The next day, Afzull chan sent to mee that he had acquaynted the Prince at lardge with this Conference and the Contract on my part, which had giuen him satisfaction, and that he had commanded to giue me a *firmaen* according to my desire, and professed fayth and good obseruance in all poynts; desired that I would make ready that on my part vnder my seale; and to show his true dealing had therwith sent me a draught of the new *firmaen*, which the Prince had yeilded too, with a warrant sealed to the Secretarie to pass it accordingly: and that now I might bee assured of good meaning. And it was the first tyme that euer I could gett sight of any *firmaen* before it was passd, they alwayes giuing what they please.

I caused this draft to bee translated, and found it according to promise, effectuall in most poynts according to their formes and stile, and no materiall thing left out, and written clearly and rightly, only some clause inserted, not much to purpose, for which I was not willing to haue a new brawle, and the Prince gone. I tooke one coppy and sent the other to the Secretarie with warrant to pass yt.[1]

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[1] Jahángír left Ahmadábád for Agra early in September, 1618, and in the same month Roe took his departure for Surat—probably about the 26th, on which date a payment to him is entered in Biddulph's books. At Surat he seems to have been treated with respect, and a suitable dwelling assigned to him, in accordance with the "articles" given above; for Terry, after describing (p. 201) the pleasant abodes of the native functionaries, with their gardens, tanks, and bathing-places, adds: "in such a Garden-house with all those accommodations about it my Lord Ambassadour lay with his company at Surat the last three moneths before he left East India."

Egerton M.S. 2086 (Brit. Mus.) contains at ff. 47, 49 and 50, three letters of Roe's which belong to this period. The first and longest, dated December 14, 1618, is apparently addressed to Brown at Ahmadábád. The second is written to Capt. Bonner (the commander of the 1618 fleet, which had arrived on September 20), and bears date the 16th of the same month. The third is to Heynes, reproving him for being "so busy a factor for all men," and not attending more to the Company's business; this is dated December 17. Apparently all three were signed by Roe, but only in the case of the first has the signature escaped destruction. Their mutilated state

To the Governor of Mocha.

(I. O. Records : *O. C.*, No. 755.)

Honorable and great Gouernor of the Port of Mocha, Raja Baga, health and Greeting.

I receiued your Honourable lettres[1] with much joy by the Hands of Ioseph Salbanck and Edward Heynes, who doe giue great testemonie of your Noble disposition and good affection to our Nation, wherin you showe your selfe to bee a woorthy and discreet Man. Ther hath alway beene good respondence and Ametye betweene his Maiestie of England and the Grand Sinior, and it is reason all their good subiects should by all meanes maynteyne it; and wheras entercourse and trafique is the Principall bond of Ametye, wee doe desier on our Parts to resort yearly to your Port, ther to trade in loue and frendship as honest Merchants, not doubting but you will confirme the Priuiledges by you last yeare granted and procure the like and more Ample from the Grand Sinior and his Viceroy the Honourable Pashaw of Synan,[2] wherby wee may bee encouraged to Bring you all sorts of Comodities, as well from Europe as spices from the Sowthard and cloth from India, by which means your Port wilbe more famous and become the Mart of all Asia; and this I promise you in the Honor of his Maiestie of England that wee meane faythfully to performe and to keepe your seaes and Ports from all troubles to our vttmost, and not to molest nor doe Iniurie to any People or Merchants your Allies trading to your Port (the Portugalls, our vtter Enemies, only excepted), but to maynteyne with you a firme and true leauge.

According to your desier I haue sent vnto you the same men that last yeare were with you, desiering you to receiue them as frends and to suffer them quiettly vpon the Conditions agreed

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makes them difficult to decipher, but they seem to contain nothing of importance.

One or two incidents of Roe's stay at Surat are referred to on p. 517, and in the extracts from the Court Minutes given later.

[1] Brought home by the *Anne* in her voyage the previous year (see p. 495). The letter, which is in the I. O. Records (*O. C.*, No. 681), assures Roe of the governor's wish to be friends with the English nation and to afford them every advantage for trade. It was accordingly arranged that the *Lion* should be despatched to Mocha, and she sailed (carrying the above letter) in company with the *Anne* and the rest of Bonner's fleet on February 17. As will be seen from the *Calendar of State Papers* (*E. Indies*), these attempts to open up trade with the Red Sea led, after Roe's departure, to further troubles for the Surat factors, owing to the complaints of the native merchants that the English were damaging their commerce in this direction.

[2] Sana.

on to land their goods and to sell them and reship themselues at their Pleasure. Herein you shall doe according to your Honourable Name and procure great proffitt and quiett to your Port.

The great God of Heaven and Earth make your Honor to Encrease.

From Suratt, February 16, in the yeare of Iesus the sonne of God 1618[-19].

The Factors at Suratt to the Company.[1]

(I. O. Records: *O.C.*, No. 777.)

Surat, the 12th March, 1618 [-19].

...... Per the *Bull* wee Certefie[d] you directlie and truly the tearmes itt [" our residence "] then stood on; which since as per Coppies of our registers per the *Ann* (wherto for more Ample relation of sundrie affaires wee referred you) you will perceaue the poore remedie wee haue receaued, not only of our former Injuries butt many others since; and therby alsoe be ascertained of the meane grace his lordship stood in with this King and prince, that, after 3 yeares attendance, att his departure by earnest intercession could not procure the guifte of a house nor ground nor lycence to build vs a habitation nor soe much as Continue vs in this, from whence (our tyme neerely expired) wee shortly expect to bee remooued. Wee haue already sought oute and obteyned from the Govnner another; but these Cheefes will not Consente wee shall haue any nere the waterside; and elcewhere, in the inner parte of the towne, there is not any strong nor for vs conveniente, excepte such as belonge to *Bannyanes*, who will nott lett them. Soe where to be accomodated, as yett wee know nott.

The depts remayning at Courte and manner of his lordships lycence you haue no doubt receaved relation from them presente. What hee heather brought for the establishing of your trade (his Capitulations refused, as per our laste advised) was only a *firmaen* from the King[2] and another from the Prince; the first gennerall, for our reception and Continuation in his domynyons, as many others (more ample) heeretofore receaued; the latter particuler

[1] Roe left Surat in Captain Shilling's vessel, the *Anne*, on February 17, 1619 (*O. C.*, No. 817).

This parting shot from Kerridge and his associates (Biddulph, Rastell, and Giles James) is given partly because it shows their continued hostility to Roe, in spite of his endeavours to smooth over previous differences, and partly because it mentions one or two additional particulars of the events of his stay at Surat.

[2] Cp. pp. 524, 558. This *farmán* is not extant.

for this porte of Suratt. The Fruicts which both haue produced you may please to perceaue by your goods detention these six months in Customehouse and yett vnreleaced, and our dwelling vppon euery triuiall humor subiect to Change; wherof, att his coming to Suratt, discerning the discomodeties, hee endeauored by letters and presents to the king, prince and nobillity to releeue vs, and receaued another *firmaen* from the Prince to as little purpose as the former, wherby itt is euident they haue commaunds of sundrie kindes and know which to obay; otherwise the princes seuritye Could not be jested with by his servants. The Consideration and laste tryall wherof Caused a Cleerer sight of the Omission paste, and himselfe to propose the juncks detention next yeare, wherin by reason of the many difficulties beeing opposed, hee lefte itt to the discretion off Councell (if not releeued in the premises), whoe will not easilie bee induced to attempt itt without expresse order from your worships to warrant itt, aswell for the affiance you had in his lordships wisedome, who, though hee had authoritie, Could not bee induced therto himselfe, as the Kings present remote residence,[1] which perhapps through the stoping of your buisnesse err the questions decyded might cause many inconveniences and expose the actors to more then is Convenient for them to hasard. Itt may please you therfore well to Consider this pointe. The debts are vnlikely to be soone recovered, and these are a people that curbd wilbe brought to any reason and if suffered in their owne wayys grow insolente and insupportable, which they exercise not on the Portingalls, that incroacheth asmuch on them, permitt none of their shipps to saele without lesence, and euen now since the *Anns* departure haue Forced the Goga junck, appertaineing to the beloued Queene, to pay them 65000 *mamoodes* for Custome to the porte of Dieu (an antient dutie), which, striuing to Infringe, loste her voyage the laste yeare, and made greate shew off warrs, yett after much Contention haue submitted againe to the yoake. . . . . . .

In this shipp [the *Anne*] is returned Sir Thomas Roe, to whom wee haue deliuered a box sealed, Maled and Couered, Containing the Accoumpts, letters and registers and invoeces and sundrie other writeings, both from this and the Agra Factory, directed vnto your worships, which wee hope hee will safely deliuer in the same Condition; others of your seruants, distrusting that convayance,[2] haue deliuered theirs to Captain Shilling, master of the shipp.

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[1] Jahángír, on leaving Ahmadábád, proceeded to Fatehpur Sikri, near Agra, and thence, in October, 1619, started for Kashmír.

[2] The innuendo shows the malignant feelings with which Roe was regarded by the factors.

In his Lordships Company is alsoe gone home Gabriell Towreson and Richard Steele, his wife, and Mistress Huddson[1]...

ROE TO THE PRESIDENT AT BANTAM.[2]

(Public Record Office: *Holland Correspondence*, 29 May, 1619.)

Coppy of the writing I gaue to Fredericque Hoftman to bee deliuered to the President of the English in East Indya.

Sir,

Meeting here with Fredericque Hoftman, Admirall of a fleete of eleven ships of Holland bound for Bantam, but now two

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[1] Mrs. Towerson had elected to remain behind with her relatives, and she afterwards gave some trouble to the Agra factors by her applications for the loan of money "until her husband's return." He, however, had evidently no intention of rejoining her, for in January, 1620, he sought for and obtained employment as a principal factor for the Moluccas. As already mentioned, while holding this post he was executed by the Dutch at Amboyna, in February, 1623.

Steel, his projects having completely failed, had judged it best to return. His reception by the Company was a cold one, for "he was much condempned for his vnworthie carriage abroad, hauing perfourmed nothing that was intended and resolued of at his departure, but hath brought home a great priuate trade, put the Company to an extraordinarye charge by a wife and children, and wronged my Lord Embassador by a false and surmised contestation and arrogating a higher title and place to himself then ever was intended" (*Court Minutes*, September 17, 1619). His offers of service in October, 1623, were declined; but later on he was more successful, and in January, 1626, was once again in the employment of the Company. He desired to return to the scene of his former employment, but was sent instead to Bantam. The last fact recorded concerning him is a resolution of the Court, in 1627, to recall him for private trading.

Mrs. Hudson also came in for censure, as she, after going out at the Company's expense and living in India in their house for five months, had brought home a considerable amount of private trade. However, after some delay, she was allowed, by the intercession of her friends, to have her goods on payment of thirty pounds for freight.

[2] Printed in the *Calendar of State Papers* (*East Indies*), 1617-21, Preface, p. xxxi. This letter, written from the Cape, explains itself. Roe's action in thus advising the factors at Bantam of the negotiations proceeding in London between the Dutch and English was commended by the Company "for a very wise and worthy course" (*Court Minutes*, September 17, 1619). His earnest wish for the settlement of the differences between the two nations is reflected in a letter from Van Ravesteyn (the Dutch chief at Surat) to his employers, under date of February 14, 1619 (I. O. Records: *Hague Transcripts*, series I, vol. iii, No. CXV). After mentioning Roe's courtesy to him, both at Ahmadábád and at Surat, he says: "I found him a very peace-loving man, who is very sorry for the differences between us and the English, and would gladly see an agreement arrived at;" Roe has asked him to write to recommend the settlement of these troubles, and has undertaken, for his own part, to do his utmost to bring this about.

only in company, of good force and well manned, the rest dispereed on the Coast of England, wee haue had some conference about the bad humors begunn betwixt us in Indya. Hee professeth affections of peace and that he hath no instructions to the contrarie and avoweth the arriuall and reception of the states commissioners in England to treat an accord. Wee haue agreed mutually to send our aduices, I to you by him, he to his Generall by the *Beare*, of what wee heare and that it is probable an vnion wilbe made; hereby on both sides to preuent, if possible, any farther occasions which will not bee so easely quenched. If you fynd in effect as much as he professeth, a man of his place and authoritye may much aduance our desires, so it may bee done with due respects of Honor and the companies seruice. So I committ you to God.

THO. ROE.

Master Barwicke,[1] Admirall of 2 good ships, the *beare* and *Starr*, ready to depart, the 11 May, 1619.

COURT MINUTES OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.[2]

(I. O. Records.)

2 *September*, 1619.—A lettre was red, written by Sir Thomas Roe from Plymouth,[3] another from Andrew Shilling, Master, and a

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A letter from Tiku, dated November 10, 1619 (*O. C.*, No. 822), states that "my Lord Rowe would haue taken two Flemishe shipps, had not Master Barwicke informed my Lord that some of the Committies told him at Grauesend that He mighte boldly reporte that your worships and the Flemings were agreed;" and another letter from the same place and of the same date (*O. C.*, No. 821) says that "had nott those in the *Beare* persuaded Sir Thomas Roe that peace was concluded with the Hollanders, hee had resolued to haue taken four (*sic*) holland shipps at the Cape, which hee might easily haue done, they comming in butt one and one, wee hauing three good shipps well manned in the Roade." It is, however, highly improbable that any such action was contemplated by the ambassador; nor does his letter bear out the statement that Barwick had made him believe that peace was actually concluded.

[1] The commander of the *Bear*, to whom a copy of this letter was entrusted for delivery. The original, as above stated, was given to the Dutch admiral, who handed to Roe in return a similar notification to be transmitted to the Dutch chief (see *Holl. Corresp.*, as above, and *Dom. Corresp.*, *Jac. I*, vol. cxvi, Nos. 19, 191). Barwick had come out to India in the same fleet as Roe (see p. 4).

[2] Several references to Roe and his embassy have been omitted as not of sufficient importance for quotation.

[3] This letter, dated 29th August, is not extant, but there is an abstract of it in the Factory Records (*Miscellaneous*, vol. i), at the India Office. From this we learn that Roe stated that he had settled

third from Master James Bag, deputye for the Farmers[1] ther, all of the 29th August last, Giuing to vnderstand of the arryuall of the *Anne* in the Soundings at Plymouth from the East Indies, the shippe and the men in good estate, wher they are supplyed by Master Bag with money and all thinges necessarye,[2] so as they are readie to take the advantage of the first faire wynd that shall blowe to bring them to the Downes, And by Sir Thomas Roe ther was a generall tast giuen of the estate of ther affaiers as they are setled at Surat, Persia and Moha in the Red Sea (a place of excellent hopes for Trade), And expectation of the retourne of the *Expedition*[3] with Pepper, by the blessings of God, according to his direction and order taken with Captain Bonner for the lading of her vppon the Coast and dispatching her away, which he expected should haue bene that he might haue found her here now at his coming. . . . .

This Court aduising how to ease my Lord Embassador at his coming to the Downes (finding his resolution to contynue abourd vntill he may haue som other of sort to whose care to surrender his charge), They resolud to send downe 2 of the Comittees . . . . Resoluing to haue a Caroch sent downe to bring him to Grauesend, wher some others shall meete him to accompanie him to London, with 2 barges that shalbe sent thether.

15 *September*, 1619.—A letter was red written from the Downes by Master Styles and Master Abdye[4] of the [ ] of this instant, giuing notice of the arryuall of the *Anne* in the Downes, the

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privileges and had left all in good order at Surat; had re-settled trade in Persia, and had initiated a profitable commerce with the Red Sea; and, finally, had "procured the Magoll to banish all the Portugales from all his ports, but contynued not" (*sic*). Of the voyage, he mentioned that he met the *Bear* and the *Star* at the Cape, and that those two vessels sailed for Bantam on the same day (15th May) that the *Anne* departed for England. St. Helena was reached on the first and quitted on the sixth of June, after which they were twelve weeks getting home. They were much troubled by contrary winds, and their biscuits were "bad, dirty, and rotten;" so that this part of the voyage must have been attended with great discomfort. From passages in the *Court Minutes*, it would appear that there was something like a mutiny on board.

[1] Of the Customs.

[2] Master Bag was presented with a piece of plate in acknowledgment of his services (*Court Minutes*, November 9, 1619).

[3] One of the ships of the fleet in which Roe went out; subsequently despatched again to India with Bonner's fleet of 1618. She never returned to England, for she was captured at Tiku by the Dutch in October, 1619, and when released and sent to Japan she foundered in a storm in Firando harbour.

[4] The two "committees" who had been appointed to take over charge of the ship from Roe.

landing of my Lord Embassadour and intents of his daylie iourneyes to Grauesend, whose charges they had defrayed with his Ladies and such as came to meete him; whervppon it was resolud to haue a letter retournd in aunswer to approue of their procedinges and discretions and to wish them to contynue the same course to defray the expences vntill his retourne to London, And to giue knowledge that Master Deputie,[1] Sir John Merricke, Sir John Wolstenholme, Sir William Russell, Master Alderman Haliday, Master Alderman Hamerslye, Master Threasurer,[2] Master Leate, Master Bell, Master Ven, Master Handford, Master Ofley, Master Garway, Master Westrowe, Master Kirby and divers others of the Comittees (who were all entreated, so many as shalbe willing) purposed to be at Grausend to morrowe about 10 of the Clocke to conduct his Lordship to London; And resolud to haue a dossen coaches readie at Tower Wharfe to carry him to his house, Appointing John Cappur to go away presently with a letter to Rochester and retourne back [to] Grausend that night to bespeake breakfast ther if they shall so resolue.

17 *September*, 1619.—Master Alderman Haliday[3] hauing very kindly proferd my Lord Embassador his house, the Company gaue him great thankes for his fauor therin, And resolud to beare the charge of his entertaynment vntill he shall haue bene and delivered his Message vnto his Majestie.

22 *September*, 1619.—His Maiestie hauing appointed my Lord Embassador to attend him at Whitehall on Friday next to receiue his aunswer of his Embassage and presents, My Lord desired Master Gouernor, Master Deputie and some of the Comittees to accompanie him thether, who promised their presence accordingley.

John Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton.

(*Dom. State Papers*, *Jac. I*, vol. cx, No. 94.)

2 October, 1619.

...... The King was here yesterday at Whitehall, but is now gon to Tiballs [Theobalds]. He came from Hampton-Court, where Sir Thomas Rowe presented him with two antelopes, a straunge and beautifull kind of red-deare, a rich tent, rare carpets, certain vmbrellaes and such like trinckets from the great mogul. For ought I heare he hath not prouided so well for himself as

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[1] Maurice Abbot. [2] William Harrison.

[3] William Halliday, or Holliday, Alderman, 1617-23, and Sheriff, 1617-18. He had married a cousin of Roe's, Susanna, daughter of Sir Henry Roe. As already mentioned, after her husband's death she became the second wife of the Earl of Warwick. Halliday was Governor of the Company from 1621 till his death (14th March, 1624).

was thought at first,[1] but must relie vpon the Companies liberalitie. I haue little acquaintance with any of them, so that I cannot promise much in theyre behalfe; but when Sir Dudley Digges comes to towne, I will set him on work, who is gracious among them and vnderstands theyre courses and I know wilbe redy to do any goode office in whatsoeuer may concern you.

Court Minutes of the East India Company.
(I. O. Records.)

25 *September*, 1619.—Sir Thomas Roe hauing bene with his Maiestie and giuen account of his Embassage, It was made knowne that he doth purpose likewise to come and giue satisfaction to this Court of his procedings and seruice perfourmed and will delyver vpp some Iornalls and accounts which he hath in his custodye.

Sir Thomas Roe hauing taken a survey of all the seuerall dispositions of the Companies factors at Surat and those parts, with the bad and yell [ill?] qualities of many of them, some of which he hath delyuered very sparinglye, and remytted many wrongs comitted by them against him ther (as by the sequell he hath manifested in preferring some of them aboue their merit before others of better parts), It was found notwithstanding that some of them haue most baseley and iniuriouslye requited him by traducing him in their lettres and wrighting most bitterly and most inuectiuely against him; amongst which Iohn Browne[2] and William Biddulph are noted to excede in the highest measure, putting vppon him as much as malice can possibly inuent, with all the spitefull disgrace that may be, most of the factors ther being ioyned in a confederacy amongst themselues, being ielous that any strange eye should obserue or looke into their accounts, being growne to great matters in estate, many of them being worth a thowsand pounds apeece (as is said), gayned by lending and exchanging the Companies monyes and by such other courses as they do practise. The Companie thought it necessary therfore to seeke to preuent those mischeifes in tyme and to consider of some perticlers of greatest consequence, take the examinations of as many as can be gotten, to be iustified *viua voce*, that if any

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[1] On the 11th of the previous month Chamberlain had written to Carleton that "Sir Thomas Rowe is come home rich, they say, from the East Indies" (*ibid.*, No. 54).

A casual mention of Roe's return "in a ship worth, by report, 160,000*l.*" occurs in a letter dated the 16th September, 1619, printed in the *Court and Times of James I* (1848), vol. ii, p. 190.

[2] John Brown's letter was read at the Court meetings of the 28th September and 1st October, and was severely censured as "a most indiscrete scandalous inuectiue against Sir Thomas Roe . . . . little better then a libell." Roe, who was present, magnanimously praised Brown's ability and honesty.

falshood can be proued or base and disgracefull tearmes vsed by them of the Companie (as is enfourmed) they may be punisht and some seuere course put in execution against them without fauour, to the example of others; appointing Master Ellam to drawe the heads of all those complaints into a booke that they may be the more readie to charge them with hereafter, and amongst other things to looke out Furslands lettre, who wrights they kepe a comonwealth amongst them selues; but for the persons themselues it was held fit and so resolud to gleane out the most culpable and to send for them home by degrees vntill all shall be weded thence, and to be carefull that they be not permitted to get those their estates out of the Companies hands vntill they may receiue satisfaction for their honest gaining of them.

28 *September*, 1619.—Sir Thomas Roe hauing brought home sundrye papers and accounts with other consultations, which do concerne the Companie, himself and some other men, He was willing to leaue them, desiring only to haue them put into a Chest by themselues and kept apart without any others to be mingled amongst them, that, if occation be, they may be sene apart at any time. The motion was approved and ordered to be so put vpp, with notice taken of them, written vppon and numbered.

6 *October*, 1619.—Sir Thomas Roe, desiring to giue the Company satisfaction of his procedings since his goeing into the East Indies, first gaue to vnderstand in what a desperate case he found the factoryes at Surat, Amadauaz and elswher in the Mogores Countrye: proclamations out against them to prohibite them of all trade and to depart the land, which at his coming to Court he caused to be reuokt and procured *fermaens* to commaund their acceptaunce and frendly entertaynment, prouing against the Prince himself that those things had bene done without aucthoritye from the King and by wicked subornation to haue overthrowne the trade of the English; Assuring the Company that now by a faire and gentle course held and good correspondencie and obseruation of the Gouernour in some reasonable sort they may haue as faire a passage of their buysines as can be expected or desired; Making it appeare what a profit may be hoped for and had by the trade into the Red sea, wher articles are confirmed with priuiledges for trade and fredome thereof and capitulations set downe with the Gouernour of Sinan and of Moha, that for any comodities which may be caryed thether (wherof he hath intelligence of the particlers vendible) ther may be raisd of the worst *centum pro cento;* which comodityes to serue those parts may be furnisht to the valewe of 10,000*li.* for [from?] Surat without preiudice to the Prince his shippe, and 30,000*li.* worth from Dabul and the Ports therabouts; At which place of Moha Captaine Shilling acknowledgd that he was most kindly vsed ther, affirming that ther is as much securitie ther for their goods as can be expected, which they dare not go about to infringe or attempt

any thing to giue distast. And seing those of Surat cannot trade saufely thether without the Company of the English into the Red sea, wher it is said that Trade is for two Millions yearely, they wilbe glad of the companie of the English for many reasons delivered; which shippe of theirs retourning is of very great valewe, hauing 1000 of their people in her, wilbe as a pawne and assurance for the good vsage of our people at Surat. And this trade in tyme may be enlarged by the English as other comodityes may be gotten from sundry other places of the Indies, and wilbe the life of the Surat and Persia Trade to supply both those places with monye: which trade being brought to good perfection, he hopeth they wilbe carefull to preserue and contynue it notwithstanding any discouragment that may be obiected by the factors at Surat, who are vnwilling to haue that Trade prosper (as is collected by many circumstances). Lastly, he made knowne that he recouered all the extortions which had bene exacted by sundry vniust Gouernors that yeare and the yeare before and had left all matters in a good, setled and peaceable course, drawing out 21 Articles, most of which he procured the King to confirme and got sundry *firmaens* graunted for Friggots to be delyuered furnisht to the English for ther defence against the Portugalls (who, as was delyuered, were preparing an *Armado* against the English), Together with many other priuiledges which he thought as much in generall as he could expect or desire; And recouered all debts, leauing none in the Countrye but only one of a *Banyan* who was the kings prisoner; And yet for him he hath the kings promise to force him to pay the said debt or else to delyuer the partie dead or aliue vnto their hands. And last of all he caused a list to be red, which he had drawne, of the remaynders in the Countrye at his coming away, both mony in specie at the seuerall factoryes, what good debts and comodityes that would drawe in so much mony within the compase of such a tyme, and what of those things were appointed to make prouisions readie for the *Lyon* against the next yeare; Together with a note of the remaynders of all the generall goods in the Country, And what is ordered to be prouided for the Southwards, Persia and Moha. And hauing made this generall relation (which gaue very good content and satisfaction), The Company intended to meete at some speciall tymes with him to viewe all his notes and wrightings, sort them, endorse them, and put them to be kept in their seuerall places, wher they may be found hereafter vppon any occation to vse them.

18 *October*, 1619.—Sir Thomas Roe motioning to haue an end of matters by degrees betwixt the Company and him, desired to haue it first seene and knowne what seruice he hath perfourmed in setling some Trades and Factoryes at Moha [in] the Red Sea and in the Mogores dominions at Surat, Amadauaz and other parts, which may best be discernd by the consultations that haue bene

had about those matters, which he desired might now be red. The Company were willing to lay by all other matters to heare the same, And entreated those Comittees that were formerly desired (Sept. 17)[1] to confer with Sir Thomas Roe, to see his accompts, audyt and perfect them, And the said Comittees to sit with him at some conuenient tymes, heare his opinion of the estate of their affaires abroad, take notice of all his wrightings brought home, sort them and endorse them and put them in seuerall boxes according to former order, and whatsoever else may be necessarye and conuenyent to be vnderstood for the generall good of the Trade.

Sundry Consultations being red out of a booke[2] by Sir Thomas Roe held at Surat and elswher concerning many matters of seuerall natures and qualities, In one of them it did appeare what care he tooke to saue and preuent a great charge they formerly ranne into by sending vpp mony by Conuoye vnto Amadauaz, but caused retournes to be made therof by Bills, wherby much hazard and daunger shalbe preuented and great charge saued that formerly was wastfully expended; As also how the Persian trade was to be supplyed, Together with many other matters of great consequence.

Sir Thomas Roe made knowne that Pursers formerly receyuing mony from the Factors on shore did neuer delyuer any accompts of the disbursing therof, wherby ther was opportunitye to deceiue the Company of great somes, which abuse he caused to be reformed, Appointing the Pursers to delyuer vpp accompt of such somes receyued, how and vppon what the same was disburst, and the remaynder at each Port delyuered vpp with the account vnto the said factors. And finding Steeles account to be extraordinarye (as he conceyued), he excepted directly against some of his demaunds and referd his whole accompt vnto the Consideration of the Company here to be altered and approued as they shall see cause, Together with some other questions concerning him, as appereth by that consultation; which things Master Ellam was appointed to take notice of.

In a consultation held the 11th of January, 1618[-19], It was resolud to haue my Lord Embassador go downe to Swalley to conclude with the Maryners for the Prize goods taken;[3] wher he finding some difference in the Inuoyces of the Prizes goods, made a praizure of the goods, which he sent vnto the Company, and knowes how much difference ther is from the Bills of lading taken in the

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1 "Master Gouernor, Master Deputy, Sir Dudley Digges, Sir John Wolstenholme, Master Alderman Haliday, Master Sheriff Hamersley, Master Threasurer, Master Bell, and Master Handford."

2 No longer extant.

3 Apparently the captures made by the *Expedition* on her way to Persia (see p. 462).

Prizes, which he hath in the originall. . . . . In that consultation [February 1, 1619] Sir Thomas Roe lymiting to ech factorie how many horses and seruants were fit to be kept, therby to abbridge the extraordinary expence and charge of the great number of vnnecessary seruants that had formerly bene kept, allowing the factors a competent number to attend them when their occations drawe them abroad.

20 *October*, 1619.—Sir Thomas Roe reading some other Consultations held in the Indies about the buysines of Mocha, with directions and enstructions to the Merchant employed thether, as also to the Master of the *Lion* to make further search vnto Prester Johns Countrye, Together with some other enstructions to William Biddulph how to cary himself at the Court, and other passages of great consequence for other places, seriouslye considered of and iudiciouslye set downe and directed for the Companies good in the future charge of the buysines, The Company approued of them as necessarye and fitting and therfore were of opinion and resolud to haue them confirmed by wrighting vnto their factors, which will ad reputation vnto Sir Thomas Roe, as he hath deserued.

Vppon reading of the last Court, wherin the buysines concerning Sir Thomas Roe were referd to certaine Comittees, By reason of some exceptions taken the consideration of his gratification was wholie left vnto this Court to be thought vppon and determynd as they should thinke fit and conclude, to take away all exceptions abroad.

22 *October*, 1619.—Master Tirrye the Preacher hauing brought home 121 peeces of Callicoes, for which he now had his mony for readie fraight [? fraight readie] according to the appointment of the Comittees, He desired fauour for the same. Sir Thomas Roe comended him much for his sober, honest and ciuill life ther and that theis Callicoes were his whole meanes he hath. The Company, hearing so good reports giuen of him and being willing to encourage men of his fashion in weldoing, were contented to pas ouer this fault, and to remit the said fraight vnto him, giuing him leaue to take them away, he hauing aunswered the Custome. And wheras he had disbursed a matter of 14*li.* in Bookes more then the mony he receyued for ymprest, which 14*li.* is also charged vppon his account, and that he gaue away most of those bookes vnto the factors in the Countrie, as Sir Thomas Roe affirmed, The Company were therfore pleased to remyt the said 14 *li.*, And ordered to haue his accompt freed from the same.[1]

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[1] We here take leave of the Rev. Edward Terry, whose quaint narrative has been so often laid under contribution in the preceding pages. Shortly after his return, he wrote an account of his travels, and in 1622 presented it to Prince Charles. This narrative was made use of by Purchas (vol. ii, p. 1464) to supplement the journal of the

8 *November*, 1619.—Certaine deuisions hauing bene in the first Joint Stocke, wherin Sir Thomas Roe was an Aduenturer 800 *li.*, Two of his diuidents hauing bene left in the Companies handes by reason of his absence in their seruice, It was ordered vppon his motion to haue interest allowed for them from the tyme the warrant[s] were sealed.

12 *November*, 1619.—Master Deputie made knowne that Sir Thomas Roe his accounts hauing bene vewed and perused by those Audytors that were appointed according to order, all are finisht and ended (excepting only 150 *Mamuthars*[1] lost by Henry Garret in disbursing the monyes, which being so smale a matter was not thought fit to be stood vppon), And that the accounts of all such monyes that came to Sir Thomas Roe his hands and all his expenses, both ordinarye and extraordinary, are cast vpp, And do find great good husbandrie vsed in his expence of housekeping, which cometh to about 250 or 260*li.* ayeare, one yeare with another, wherof he caused the account to be kept of eueryе perticler, And hath cleared himself in the Countrye, owing nothing to the Companies account, nor ever borowed 10*li.* of them, although he lyued 6 months vppon his owne meanes (the Cash being left destitute of meanes at Master Edwards departure) And paid his seruants their whole wages in the Country, although he were allowed but half therof ther from the Company, And for other allowances tooke not half so much in the Countrye, as by Couenant he might, But made payment ther for some monyes which he borrowed here, which was the better accepted because it was remembred by some that if he would haue traded in the Countrye with the monye he had ther he might haue gayned a great matter; And hauing duelie weighed his carriage and behauiour from the begining till this present, they esteemed him a very worthie gentleman that hath husbanded things exceedinglye well and very

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ambassador himself. Many years after, Terry, who had been made rector of Great Greenford in 1629, revised and enlarged his original account, and published it in a small volume in 1655. The additions consisted largely (as the author confesses) of "pertinent, though in some places very long, digressions" on moral and religious topics, in the hope "that they who fly from a sermon and will not touch sound and wholsom and excellent treatises in divinity may happily (if God so please) be taken before they are aware and overcome by some divine truths." In 1665 the work was reprinted (slightly condensed and without Terry's name) in a folio volume, which contained also Havers' translation of Della Valle's letters ; and this has often been mistaken for Roe's own account of his embassy. A third (octavo) edition, a reprint of the first, was issued in 1777. The quotations in the present work have been taken from the rare first edition.

Terry died at Great Greenford on October 8, 1660, and was buried in the chancel of his church.

[1] Mamúdis.

moderate in his expenses And one that by his modestie, honestie and integritie hath giuen good satisfaction; And taking to consideration what gratification to bestowe vppon him, Some motiond to referre it to be concluded by some fewe in priuate, least others abroad may make him a president; But, his merits speaking for him, it was thought they could be no president to any others, because none shall meryt euery day as he hath, whose example to the factours in the Countrye will aduauntage the Company much by his frugalitie. And comparing him with other Embassadors in other Countryes who haue great allowances, his good husbandrie will appear the more; And therfore in the iudgment of some, if 2000*li.* should be giuen him for a gratification, it will not arise to 1000*li.* a yeare, one yeare with another, during the tyme of his seruice with all his charges and expences annexed; And knowing much in him which may giue the Company content, It was wisht not to giue him distast, And resolud to make an end now (without putting of tyll another tyme, as some wisht). And the question being put to thre somes, 1000, 1500 and 2000*li.*, ther was giuen him by erection of hands the some of 1500*li.* as a gratification for his seruice perfourmed; wherin they had no regard to the future tyme, but heareing of his readynes to giue his assistance at any meetings hereafter, they supposed his future seruice might deserue according to the tyme. And he presenting himself, Master Gouernor made knowne the Companies mynd who, acknowledging his honestie and frugalitye and comending his care, desired him to accept of the foresaid some of 1500*li.*, which they held too little, compared with his deserts, but ther smale retournes pleaded partlye their excuse.[1] Sir Thomas Roe made knowne that he tooke in good part whatsoeuer is giuen; In the meane time purposed to thinke therof And at next Court purposeth to come and giue his thanks.

15 *November*, 1619.—A lettre was red, written by Sir Thomas Roe, of thanks for the gratification which they had bestowed vppon him, wherin he layd open himself in his former courses what he aymed at, the good of the Company and his owne reputation; who, hauing habilitye to perfourme further seruice for their good, is willing to dedicate himself wholie theirs, expecting onlye that, if they will make him one of their bodie, they affourd him meanes wherby to mantayne himself amongst them without thinking of any other course; And delyuered in a note of certaine monyes

[1] This was rather a lame excuse. Three days before they had listened to an estimate made by Alderman Hammersley, by which the net gains of the Surat trade, from the beginning of the First Joint Stock, were reckoned at 200,000*l.*, or 120 per cent on the capital employed. Another calculation (*Court Minutes*, November 2, 1619) made the capital employed 89,526*l.* and the net proceeds about 210,860*l.*, which gives a still more favourable result.

in his possession in the Indies, as 250*li.* of Master Boughtons[1] & 13*li.* of Hempsalls,[2] which he might haue made his aduantage of, but paid them vnto the Companies account, And paid 100*li.* in the Indies which he might haue answered here, Forbore to borowe any of the Companies monyes, as he might according to couenant, And paid his seruants 50*li.* and 60*li.* per annum in India more then he receyued, yet had lycense to repay himself but did not, Gaue certaine guifts to the King, Prince and Lords of his owne goods, which cost him in England 152*li.* 3*s.* 2*d.*,[3] and were not put to account, Refusing certaine guifts to the preiudice of the Company, and recouered certaine debts to their great aduauntage to the value of 3000*li.*; By all which they considered his faire cariage in their buysines, which appereth the better, compared with others that haue made other vse of their tyme by priuate trade. Wheruppon some delyuered that what hath bene alreadie done was well done and he well deserued it, in regard of his honestie and faire carriage. And supposing his experience and meanes here haue enhabled him to do the Company good seruice, either at Court vppon occation or by his aduise in drawing their lettres and Comissions, and that ther is a kynd of necessitye to vse his helpe about the new trades, It was thought fit to haue him accepted as a Comittee amongst the rest and so to reward him accordinglye by giuing him a present yearelye allowance to bynd his presence and aduise amongst them, which wilbe an honour and reputation vnto him and right to the Company. And thervppon was remembred the good office he hath done since his retourne, that some about the King hauing latelye prest to ruyne that buysines of my Lord of Warwicks,[4] he tooke it wholie vppon himself and tould the Lords that it was his owne act and he is readie to make aunswer for it and iustifie the same, which gaue a tast what further vse ther may be of his courage and seruice. And thinking of a competent some that may be fitting to giue him for this yeare ensuing, they concluded by erection of hands of 200*li.* vntill the election, which all supposed he will well deserue by his sufficiencye for his paines and aduise in the yeare ensuing, which may be a president for the tyme following, as they shall fynd the good herof as the Company shall haue occation to vse him and his leisure giue him leaue to attend the buysines. It appearing by his note that he gaue away certayne presents which cost him here in England 152 *li.* 3*s.* 2*d.*, They ordered to haue so much mony aunswered vnto him for the same, as was formerly resolud at last Court, And bestowed vppon him the 100 *li.* which was layd out in plate for him at his goeing, that

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[1] See p. 32 *n.* [2] See p. 323 *n.*

[3] For an account of these, see *Addl. MS.* 6115, f. 276.

[4] See p. 420 *n.*

his mony disbursed for those guifts may not retourne barely vnto him againe.[1]

[1] At this point the passages in the *Court Minutes* relating to Roe's embassy come to an end. He still, however, maintained close relations with the Company. On November 19, 1619, they asked him whether he was willing to proceed to Bantam in supreme charge; Roe, however, while thanking them for the offer and professing his readiness to go "if the necessitye of their occasions did require it," desired "a breathing tyme" before going into a further exile. In December, 1619, he offered 400*l.* towards the proposed almshouse for persons maimed in the Company's service. On January 24, 1620, he suggested that a royal letter should be procured, acknowledging the Mogul's kind usage of the English, and thanking him for the presents he had sent; a draft which he had prepared was accordingly ordered to be engrossed for signature. The Court Minutes of 1620-21 are missing, and it is impossible, therefore, to discover whether his services were retained for that year; but apparently they were, for his allowance appears to have been continued. At the election of 1621 he was present, but was not proposed for election; and about this time, it would seem, his allowance was stopped. On August 3, 1621, he informed the Court that "some of the gennerallitie had reported grutchingly of the 1500 poundes that was giuen him att his returne, which he presumed he had deserued, if in nothing elce, yet in the frugalitie of keeping their house; also there was giuen him (as he vnderstood it) 200 poundes per annum, but it seemes the Companie ment it not so." Counting on this he had invested in the current joint stock, and though he had paid in 800*l.*, 300*l.* was still due, which, owing to the stoppage of his allowance, he was unable for the present to pay. He hoped, however, to be able to find the money by Christmas, and he begged them to impose no fine for the delay. This was agreed to; but a further request that the Company should purchase his share in the old joint stock was refused, as the "generality" had disapproved of some previous transactions of the same nature. Roe then asked that as, owing to "his intended imployment [as ambassador to Constantinople] and the encrease of his familie he shalbe driven also to larger lodgings, he should want three peeces of their vellvett embroydered hangings to add vnto five of the same kind which he had allready bought and three of their Persian Carpetts," they would either bestow them upon him or allow him to "take them vpp vppon Stock." The Court very willingly made him a present of the goods, "assuring him that howsoever the Companie was so vnhappy as to loose the imployment of so well a deseruing gentleman, yet their loues should follow him, and therefore desired the Continuaunce of his good affecion to the Company; which he freely promised and tooke verry thankefullie the Curtisie now donn him." Roe did not forget his promise, and both during his embassy at Constantinople and in after years, his advice and assistance were always at the service of the Company which had given him "his first public employment" by sending him to represent England at the Court of the Great Mogul.

APPENDIX A.

ROE'S GEOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF THE MOGUL'S TERRITORIES.

THE SEUERALL KINGDOMES AND PROUINCES SUBIECT TO THE GREAT MOGOLL SHA-SELIM GEHANGIER, with the principall Cittyes and Riuers, the Scituation and borders, and Extent in Length and Breadth, as neere as by description I could geather them. The names I tooke out of the Kings Register. I begin at the North West.[1]

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[1] From *Addl. MS.* 6115, f. 256. This interesting document was printed by Purchas in his first volume (p. 578), and again (in Terry's version) at p. 1467 of volume two. Terry in his book reproduces it, with a few additions and corrections; these, however, are based almost entirely upon Baffin's map (see p. 542), and consequently are seldom worthy of special notice.

This description of the Mogul's territories is evidently quite different from the systematic survey, based on fiscal divisions, which we get in the *Áín-i-Akbari*. Though always taken as topographical (and apparently he himself so understood it) the list copied by Roe seems rather to have been of an historical nature, enumerating roughly the states which had fallen under the sway of the Mogul emperors. Hence we find several petty Himálayan states, such as Síbá, Jaswán and Nagarkot, figuring on the same plane as Bengal and Gujárát; hence, too, Ajmere and Oudh—well-known and important provinces—are not specifically mentioned; while Gaur is differentiated from Bengal, Narwar from Agra, and Hájkán from Multán. The names Roe says he "tooke out of the Kings register," and he seems to have re-

1. CANDAHAR. The Cheefe Citty soe Called. Lyes from the hart of all his Territory North-west; confines with[1] the Shabas [dominions of Sháh Abbás, *i.e.*, Persia]; and was a Prouince of Persia.[2]

2. TATA [Tatta, in Sind]. The Cheefe Citty soe called. Is diuided by the Riuer Indus, which falls into the Sea at Syndu;[3] and lyes from Chandahar Sowth; from the middle of which I suppose Agra West,[4] somwhat Sowtherly.

3. BUCKAR. The Cheefe Citty called Buckar Suckar [Bukkur-Sukkur]. Lyes vpon the Riuer of Syndu or Indus, to the North-ward somwhat Easterly of Tata, and West Confines vpon the Baloaches [Baluchís], a kinde of Rude warlike People.

4. MULTAN. The Cheefe Citty soe Called. Lying alsoe vpon Indus, Sowth East from Candahar, Northly from Backar.

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arranged them in what he understood to be their geographical order, commencing from the north-west, and to have added such further particulars as he was able to obtain, possibly by questioning some of the natives. As will be seen from the notes, these were frequently erroneous, and the list in general contains a number of discrepancies which it is impossible to reconcile. However, with all its imperfections, it was the first attempt to supply to European readers an account of the political divisions of the Mogul empire; and subsequent writers, from Terry and De Laet onwards, were content to adopt it almost in its entirety. In 1824 Robert Kerr (*Voyages and Travels*, vol. ix, p. 378) endeavoured to explain Roe's terminology, but without much success.

In the present reproduction, the modern names of the various provinces, cities, etc., have been mostly added within brackets without further annotation. In identifying the names given by Roe, considerable help has been derived from a series of articles by the late Professor Blochmann, on the geography and history of Bengal during the Muhammadan period (*Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, vol. xlii, pt. 1, p. 209; vol. xliii, pt. 1, p. 280; vol. xliv, pt. 1, p. 275), in the course of which he deals briefly with Roe's list as given by Terry and De Laet. Sir Roper Lethbridge has also discussed the list in his interesting articles on De Laet in the *Calcutta Review* (vol. li, p. 336; vol. lii, p. 67). It would seem, however, that neither of these gentlemen had Roe's earlier version at hand, or was aware of the extent to which Terry's (and consequently De Laet's) list had been influenced by the locations adopted in Baffin's map.

[1] Borders upon.

[2] See note on p. 257.

[3] Láríbandar (see p. 122).

[4] East must be meant.

5. HAAGICKAN.[1] The Kingdome of the Baloaches, to the West of Tata and Backar, and Confines West vpon the Kingdome of Lar [Láristán], subiect to the Sha-bas. Indus wyndèth itselfe into the Easter syde of yt. It hath no renowned Citty.

6. CABULL. The Citty soe Called. A great Kingdome, the Northermost of this Emperours Dominion; and Confineth with Tartaria.

7. KYSHMIER [Kashmír]. The Cheefe Citty is called Sirinakar [Srinagar]. The Riuer of Bhat [Behat or Jehlam] passeth through it and findeth the Sea by Ganges[2] or, some say, of it selfe in the North Part of the Bay of Bengala. It bordereth Cabul to the East Southerly. It is all Mountaines.

8. BANKISH.[3] The Chiefe Citie is Called Beishar.

9. ATACK [Attock]. The Cheefe Citty so Called. It lyeth on one syde the Riuer Nilab,[4] which runneth [from?] the North-west into the Riuer of Indus.

10. The Kingdome of the KAKARES[5] lyes at the foote of the Mountaynes. It hath principall Cittyes Dankely [Dangálí] and Purhola [Pharwála]. It bordereth North-east on Kishmier.

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[1] Hájkán was a *sarkár* of Multán (*Áín-i-Akbari*, vol. ii, p. 340).

[2] This is, of course, an error. The Jehlam flows into the Indus, and is so shown in Baffin's map.

[3] Professor Blochmann identifies Bankish with Bangash, in N.W. Kohat, on the Punjab border, and Beishar with Bajaur, a district still farther north, the name of which has become familiar in connection with recent frontier troubles.

[4] The term is generally applied to the upper Indus. In the map, as here, it seems to be identified with the Kabul river.

[5] Professor Blochmann (*Áín-i-Akbari*, vol. i, p. 456 *n*), quoting Mr. J. E. Delmerick, says "the Ghakkars inhabited the hilly parts of the Ráwul Pindí and Jhelam districts, from Khánpúr on the borders of the Hazára district, along the lower range of hills skirting the *tahsíls* of Ráwul Pindí, Kuhúta and Gújar Khán as far as Domeli, in the Jhelam district. Their ancient strongholds were Pharwála, Sultánpúr, and Dangálí."

11. PEN-JAB [Punjáb],[1] which signifieth fiue waters, for that it is seated within fiue Riuers. The Cheefe Cyttye is called Lahor. It is a great Kingdome and most fruictfull. The Citty is the Mart of India for trafique. It borders North East on Multan.[2]

12. JENBA.[3] The Cheefe Citty soe Called. It lyeth East of Pen-Jab. It is very Mountanous.

13. PEITAN.[4] The Cheife Citty so called. It lyeth East of Ienba, and from the North-west of Bengala. It is full of Mountaynes.

14. NAKARKUTT.[5] The Cheefe Citty so called. The

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[1] Of course Roe gives the title to only a small portion of the present province.

[2] "Upon the north-east of Multan" is intended.

[3] Chamba, one of the Punjab hill states, lying between Kashmír and the British districts of Kángra and Gúrdaspur.

[4] Professor Blochmann says: "This is Paithán, the form used by Abulfazl for Pathán or Pathánkot. Terry evidently means the whole hill-tract of the Sirmúr range, as far as the Alaknandá. It is, however, possible that he meant the Markandá; but this river does not flow into the Ganges." The identification is probably right; but it is not necessary to stretch the boundaries of the district in order to account for Terry's statement that it is watered by the "Canda, which falleth into Ganges on its borders;" here, as elsewhere, Terry is merely inserting what he has found in Baffin's map.

[5] "*Nagracot*, the chief City so called, in which there is a Chapel most richly set forth, being seeled and paved with Plate of Pure Silver, most curiously imbossed over head in several Figures, which they keep exceeding bright by often rubbing and burnishing it; and all this cost those poor seduced Indians are at to do honour to an Idol they keep in that Chapel. . . . The Idol thus kept in that so Richly adorned Chapel they call *Matta* [Máyá], and it is continually visited by those poor blinded Infidels, who, out of the officiousness of their Devotion, cut off some part of their Tongues to offer unto it as a Sacrifice, which (they say) grow out again as before; but in this I shall leave my Reader to a belief as much suspensive as is my own in this particular. In this Province likewise there is another famous Pilgrimage to a place called Jallamakee, where out of cold springs that issue out from amongst hard Rocks, are daily to be seen continued Eruptions of Fire, before which the Idolatrous People fall down and worship. Both these places were seen and strictly observed by Mr. Coryat."—Terry, pp. 86, 87.

The reference is to what is now the Kángra district in the N.E. of the Punjáb. Its historic capital at the present time bears the same name as the district, but was formerly known as Nagarkot. The temple referred to by Terry is that of Devi Bajresari, which still

North Eastermost confine of Mogor. It lyes to the North-East of the head of the Bay of Bengala. It is very Mountaynous.

15. SYBA.[1] The Cheefe Citty soe called. It borders with Nakarkutt Southerly. It is all Mountaynes.

16. JESVALL.[2] The Cheefe Citty is called Ragepur. It

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ranks among the oldest and wealthiest shrines in India. "Jallamakee" is the even more famous temple of Jawála Múkhi in the same district, where certain jets of natural gas issuing from the ground are kept constantly burning, being looked upon as a manifestation of the goddess Devi (*Kángra Gazetteer*). Roe does not mention this spot, but it appears in the map as "Jallamakee, the Pilgrimage of the Banians."

There is an interesting reference to Kángra in the travels of William Finch in 1611 (*Purchas*, vol. i, p. 438), who describes "the great Raiaw called Tulluck-Chand [Treloka Chandra] whose chiefe City is Negercoat. . . . in which City is a famous Pagod, called Ie or Durga, vnto which worlds of people resort out of all parts of India. . . . some also are reported to cut off a piece of their tongue and, throwing it at the Idols feet, have found it whole the next day. . . . This Raia is powerfull, by his Mountaines situation secure, not once vouchsafing to visite Sha Selim."

A detailed account of Kángra and Jawála Múkhi will be found in Cunningham's *Archæological Reports*, vol. v, pp. 155-175. See also Blochmann and Jarrett's *Áín-i-Akbari*, vol. ii, pp. 312-4, where the statements of Finch and Coryat as to the sacrifice of tongues are corroborated.

[1] "*Siba*, the chief city is called Hardware, where the famous River Ganges passing through or amongst large Rocks, makes presently after a pretty full Current; but both this and that other great River Indus have their Rise and Original out of the Mountain Caucasus, from whence they both first issue. That principall Rock, through which this River Ganges there makes a Current, is indeed, or (if not), according to the fancy of the Superstitious Indians, like a Cowes Head [cp. the map], which of all sensible Creatures they love best. . . . Thither they assemble themselvs daily in Troops to wash their bodies, ascribing a certain Divinity to Waters, but more especially to the Water in the River Ganges. And thither our famous Coryat went likewise to view this place."—Terry, p. 88.

Professor Blochmann could not find a district of this name anywhere near Hardwar. Probably, however, the reference is to Síbá (now the Síbá *talúka* of Kángra district), which for a time established its independence under a branch of the ruling family of Kángra. Terry's inclusion of Hardwar in its territories is an error due to Baffin's map.

A description of Hardwar and of the bathing ceremonies which yearly attract thousands of pilgrims will be found in Cunningham's *Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. ii, p. 231.

[2] Professor Blochmann gave up this name as hopeless, though he hazarded a conjecture (based on a reference to it in Blaev's map as a

bordereth with Bengala South-East; North with Syba and Nacurkutt. It is full of Mountaynes.

17. DELLY [Delhi].[1] The Chiefe Citty so called. It lyeth on the North-west syde of the River Iemny [Jumna], which falleth into Ganges and runneth thorough Agra. It is an ancient Cytty and the seat of the Mogolls ancestors. It is ruined.[2] Some affirme it to haue been the seat of Porus, conquered by Alexander, and that ther stands a Pillar with a Grieke inscription.[3]

18. MEUAT.[4] The Cheefe Citty called Narnol. It lyeth on the East of Ganges.

19. SANBALL. The Cheefe Citty soe Called.[5] It lyeth between Ganges and Iemna to the North-west of their meeting.

20. BAKAR.[6] The Cheefe Citty is called Bikanir. It bordereth North-West one Ganges.

"country for elephants") that Ragepur might be Raipur in the Central Provinces. Jesuall appears, however, to be the ancient Rájput principality of Jaswán, which centered in the valley of that name in Hoshiárpur district (Punjáb). In that case Ragepur is Rájpura, not far from Amb, where, according to the district gazetteer, an old building, fort and palace combined, of the Jaswál Rájás may still be seen.

1 "Which signifies an Heart, and is seated in the heart of the Mogul's territories," says Terry. He is evidently thinking of the Persian *dil* (a heart), but the etymology, though ingenious, is entirely wrong.

2 This, of course, refers to old Delhi, the ruins of which still spread over an extensive area to the south of the present city.

3 See p. 103.

4 Mewát lay to the south of Delhi, and included parts of the present Muttra and Gurgáon districts and portions of Alwar, Bhartpur, and Patiala. It was subdued by Akbar, and was included in the *súbah* of Agra. Its geographical position is very incorrectly given, for it was considerably to the west of the Ganges. In the map it is still further displaced.

Nárnaul, its chief town, which was for a time one of the strongholds of the famous George Thomas, now forms part of Patiála, having been bestowed upon the Mahárájá in recognition of his services during the Mutiny.

5 Sambhal, in Moradábád district, N.W. Provinces. Under Akbar it was the capital of a considerable *sarkár*. Roe is mistaken in placing it between the Ganges and the Jumna.

6 Bíkaner, in Rájputána. The form "Bakar," and the erroneous position assigned to the district, may be due to some confusion with Bahar.

21. AGRA, a Principall and great Kingdome. The Citty soe Called, the hart of the Mogolles territorye, in North latitude about 28d½.[1] It lieth most on the South-west-syde of Iemna, the Citty vpon the riuer, wher one of the Emperors Treasuries are kept; from Agra to Lahor beeing 320 *Course*, which is not lesse then seuen hundred mile. It is all a Playne and the high-way Planted on both sides with trees like a delicate walke; it is one of the great woorkes and woonders of the world.[2]

22. JENUPAR.[3] The Citty soe Called, vpon the Riuer of Kaul, which I suppose to bee one of the fiue Riuers enclosing Lahor; and the Country lyeth betweene it and Agra, North-west from one, South-East from the other.

23. BANDO.[4] The Cheefe Citty so called. Yt confineth Agra to the West.

24. PATNA. The Cheefe Citty so called. It is inclosed by fower great rivers: Ganges, Iemna, Serseli[5] and Kanda [Gandak], so that it lyeth from Agra South-East towards the Bay of Bengala, wher all these pay tribute.

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[1] Really 27° 10′ 6″.

[2] Cp. Tavernier's *Travels* (ed. by Ball), vol. i, p. 96. No doubt Coryat, who had travelled along this road, had described it to Roe. It will be seen that this "Longe Walke" is a prominent feature of the map.

The distance is much overrated. It is really about 440 miles from Agra to Lahore. William Finch, who journeyed along the same road in 1611 and gives his stages, makes it 281 *kos* in all.

[3] This may be Jaunpur, formerly a considerable Muhammadan kingdom, extending from Budáun and Etáwah to the frontier of Bahar; but if so, Roe is mistaken in placing it between Agra and Lahore. Can he have confused it with Jaipur? By Kaul (Káli) may be meant the Gogra; but the city of Jaunpur is on the Gúmti, and neither of these streams falls into the Indus.

[4] Bándhú (Banda), now a district of the Allahábád division of the N.W. Provinces.

[5] Professor Blochmann identifies this with the Sarsuti (Saraswatí). "According to the legend," he says, "the Saraswatí, which is lost in the sand east of Bhatinda district, joins the Ganges below the ground at Allahábád."

25. GOR [Gaur]. The Cheife Citty soe called.[1] It lyeth toward the head of Ganges.

26. BENGALA. A mightie Kingdome enclosing the Western syd of the Bay on the North and wyndeth Southerly. It bordereth on Cormandell. The Chief Cittyes are Ragmehhal [Rájmahál] and Dekaka [Dacca]. There are many Hauens, as Port Grande [Chittagong], Port Pequina,[2] traded by the Portugals, Piliptan [Piplí(patam)], Satigam [Sátgáon]. It conteyneth diuers Prouinces, as that of Purp and Patan.[3]

27. ROCH.[4] It hath noe Citty of Note, and bordereth the South-East, East of Bengala, and the Bay.

28. VDEZA.[5] The Chiefe Citty Called Iekanat. It is the vtmost East of the Mogulls Territories beyond the Bay, and Confines with the Kingdome of Maug,[6] a savuage People lyeing betweene Vdeza and Pegu.

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[1] The ruins of this, the ancient capital of the Muhammadan kings of Bengal, are still to be seen in Maldah district, 25 miles S.E. of Rájmahál.

[2] Usually identified with Sátgáon. As the latter port is mentioned separately, it is possible that here the neighbouring port of Húgli is intended.

[3] Purp (Hind. *púrb*, from Sanskrit *púrba*, "the east") was used loosely to signify Oudh, Benares, and Bahar. Finch applies the term to parts of Oudh (*Purchas*, vol. i, pp. 436, 438); Jourdain (1611) says, "Pierb is 400 *Cose* longe and hath beene the seate of four Kinges;" Van Twist (1648) calls it Purbet, "a province on the borders of Tartary;" Manrique (1649) carries it as far west as Agra ("llamose esta prouincia antiguamente Purrop"). Patan may be a duplication of Patna, or a confused notion of Bhotán.

[4] Sir Roper Lethbridge (*loc. cit.*) suggests that this is meant for Koch, *i.e.*, Kuch Bahar. Professor Blochmann, however, holds that it is Arakan, which is often called Rukh by Muhammadan historians; and from Roe's description it would certainly appear that this identification is correct.

Terry omits Roch from his list, possibly because he could not find it in Baffin's map (which does not go beyond the boundaries of Bengal); but he replaces it by Jaisalmer, which is in the map but not in the list of provinces.

[5] Were it not for the mention of Jagannáth, this would scarcely be recognised as Orissa, especially as the latter duly appears on the map (as "Orixa") in something like its proper position (cp. p. 545). Possibly there is some confusion with Dacca.

[6] The Maghs are a tribe inhabiting the northern part of Arakan.

29. KANDUANA.[1] The Cheefe City is Called Kerhakatenkah. It lieth South-west of the Sowth of Bengala.

30. KUALIAR [Gwalior]. The Cheife Citty soe Called. It lyeth to the South-east[2] of Kanduana, and bordereth on Burhampur.

31. CKANDES [Khandesh]. The Cheife Cittye called Burhanpur. A great Kingdome; one of the Ancient seates of Decan, and Conquered from them. It lyeth East of Guzaratt, South of Chytor, West of Decan. It is watered with the Riuer Tabeti [Tapti], which falleth West into the Bay of Cambaya. It is now the seat of the Decan.

32. MALVA [Malwa]. The Cheefe Cittyes called Vgen [Ujjain], Narr [Dhár ?], and Seringe [Sironj]. It lyeth West of Chandes, betweene that and the Countrey of Ranna; on the West of the Riuer of Sepra,[3] which fals into the Bay of Cambaya, not farre from Suratt.

33. BERAR. The Cheefe Cytty is called Shahpur.[4] It bordereth on Guzeratt and the hilles of Ranna.

34. GUZRATT. A goodly Kingdom enclosing the bay of Cambaya. The Cheefe City is Amadavaz [Ahmadábád]. It Conteynes the Citty and Gouerment of Cambaya, the bewty of India, the Territorie and Citty of Surat, and Barooch [Broach]. It is watered with many goodly Riuers, as that of Cambaya [the Máhí], falsely supposed to bee Indus,[5] the Riuer of Narbadah, falling into the Sea at Ba-

[1] Gondwáná, nearly all of which is now comprised in the Central Provinces. Kerhakatenkah is Garhakatanka, near Jabalpur, but the name was often applied to the whole district.

[2] North-west.

[3] The Sipra (see p. 379). It falls, not into the Gulf of Cambay, but into the Chambal, a tributary of the Ganges.

[4] Sháhpur, six *kos* south of Bálapur, in Akola district. It was for a time a place of importance as the head-quarters of Sultán Murád (son of Akbar), but is now a heap of ruins.

[5] Cp. pp. 96, 112.

rooch, that of Suratt, and diuers others. It trades to the Red Sea, to Achyn, and many places.

35. SORETT [Sorath, in Káthiáwár].[1] The Cheefe Citty Called Gunagur [Júnágarh]. Lyeth to the North-west of Guzeratt.

36. NARUAR.[2] The Cheefe Citty called Ghehud. Lyeth South-west from Chitor.

37. CHYTOR [Chitor]. An ancient great Kingdom. The Citty soe Called on a Mightie hill, walled about ten English Mile. Ther stands yet aboue an hundred Churches, the Pallace of the King, many braue Pillars of carued stone. Ther is but one assent, cut out of the Rock, Passing fower Magnificent Gates. Ther remayne the ruines of 100,000 howses of stone. It is vninhabited.[3] It was doubtlesse one of the seates of Porus and was woonne from Ranna, his issue, by Eckbarshaw, the last Mogoll.[4] Ranna, flyeing into the strength of his Kingdome among the Mountayns, seated himselfe at Odepoore [Udaipur]; who was brought to acknowledg the Mogol for his superior lord by Sultan Coroonne [Khurram], third sonne of the present Emperor, in the yeare 1614. This Kingdome lyeth North-west from Chandes, and North-East from the North-west of Guzaratt, in the way betweene Agra and Suratt. Ranna himselfe keepes the hilles to the West, nearer Amadavaz.

The length is North-west to South-east: from Chanda-

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[1] "But a little Province, yet very rich."—Terry, p. 80. In the map it is placed on the mainland.

[2] Narwar, now part of Gwalior state. It is classed in the *Áin* as a *sarkár* of Agra. Ghehud seems to be Gohad, also in Gwalior state, but a considerable distance from Narwar. "South-west" should be "East," or "North-east."

[3] "Its chief Inhabitants at this day are *Ziim* and *Ohim*, Birds and Wild Beasts; but the stately Ruins thereof give a shadow of its Beauty while it flourished in its Pride."—Terry, p. 82.

[4] See p. 102.

har to Lahor 350 *Courses*,[1] about 800 miles; from Lahor to Agra, 320 *Courses*, about 752 miles; from Agra to Hhagipurpatna[2] 300 *Courses*, about 680 miles: from Hhagipurpatna to Kirasunder,[3] 300 *Courses*, about 670 miles. In all, *Courses* 1270, miles about 2872.[4]

The breadth in all is North-East to South-West, from Hardwar to Duarsa,[5] 630 *Courses*, about 1500 miles.[6]

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[1] "As for *Courses*, they are diuersly taken (as Southerne and Northerne miles with vs), in some places longer, in others shorter, which causeth scruple in the computation" (Note by Purchas).

[2] Hâjipur-Patna, *i.e.*, Patna.

[3] This seems to be Kiyâra Sundar, which is mentioned in the *Áín* (Blochmann and Jarrett's ed., vol. ii, p. 124) as a township in the *sarkâr* of Sonârgâon in S.E. Bengal.

[4] The total mileage, on the figures given, comes to 2902. Probably we should read 732, instead of 752, as the distance between Lahore and Agra, and 670, for 680, in the next stage. This would give the required total.

These figures are very rough, especially as regards the mileage. From Kandahar to Lahore, *viâ* the Bolan, would be about 700 miles; from Lahore to Agra, by way of Muttra, 440; from Agra to Patna, 530; from Patna to the Bengal border (in a straight line) something over 400; say 2100 miles in all. The breadth from Hardwar to Dwarka (as the crow flies) would be about 800 miles; it would, of course, be further by road. From the figures he gives, Roe appears to take the *kos* as equivalent to from 2.23 to 2.38 miles. Finch seems to make it about 1.56 miles, which is fairly exact. On the latter basis, the length (1270 *kos*) would be 1981 miles, and the breadth (630 *kos*) 982.

[5] Dwarka, on the N.W. point of the Kâthiâwâr peninsula.

[6] With Roe's list of provinces we may compare the almost contemporary list given by Jourdain in *Sloane MS.* 858 (British Museum), viz., "Cabull, Casmeir, Candahar, Ballucke, Delly, Cambaia, Sinde, Bengalla, Potann, Mandoa, Guallier, Hassier, Amadavar, part [of] Decan, and Pierb." Hawkins says "the Empire is diuided into fiue great Kingdomes," the names of which he gives as "Pengab," "Bengala," "Malwa," "Decan," and "Guzerat" (*The Hawkins' Voyages*, p. 420).

NOTE ON THE MAP.

WITHIN a few months of Roe's return to England, and while his embassy was still a subject of general curiosity, appeared the *Indolstani . . . . Descriptio*, a reduced facsimile of which, from a copy (probably unique) in the British Museum, is herewith placed before the reader. Quite apart from the fact that it is the earliest English attempt to delineate the territories of the Mogul emperors, the map is of great interest, alike from the circumstances of its production, the information it embodies, and the extent to which it has guided (and misguided) the work of later geographers. We will briefly consider it under these three heads.

First, however, a few facts concerning the map itself may be mentioned. The original, which is known at the British Museum as K 115 (22), measures (exclusive of margin) about nineteen and a quarter inches by fifteen. The full title (in the bottom left-hand corner) is INDOLSTANI *Imperii Totius Asiæ ditissimi descriptio: ex indagatione Ilust: Dom: Tho: Roe Equitis Aurati in Regia Mogollanica Legatum agentis Illustrata: Anno Sal:* 1619. *Vera quæ visa: quæ non veriora.* At the top of the map is a short title, *A Description of East India conteyninge th' Empire of the Great Mogoll;* and in the upper right-hand corner appear the Mogul's standard and his seal, with the Persian names given in English characters. Along the lower margin we find the names of the engraver (*Renold Elstrack sculp:*) and of the vendor (*Are to be sold in Pauls Church yarde by Thomas Sterne, Globemaker*), and, in a small label between them, the significant inscription: *William Baffin deliniavit et excudebat.*

Although generally known, in after years, as Sir Thomas Roe's map, it bears, as we have seen, the honoured name of William Baffin as its draughtsman. This fact at once affords a clue to its history. For Baffin, who was an indefatigable surveyor and map-maker, was a master's mate on board the *Anne*, the ship in which Roe returned to England;[1] and we may surmise that the acquaintance which would naturally spring up during the voyage between the ambassador and a navigator of Baffin's experience had led to a project for the publication of an accurate map of India, and that for this purpose Roe had placed at Baffin's disposal all the information in his possession. It may be that the map was actually drawn during the voyage,

[1] This interesting conjunction, and also the fact of his connection with the first English map of Hindustán, appear to have escaped the notice of Baffin's biographers.

and that the ambassador assisted Baffin in locating the interior cities and provinces; but the character of some of its inaccuracies, and the fact that it is not mentioned among the maps submitted to the East India Company by Baffin shortly after his return (for which they voted him a gratuity),[1] militate against this view; and it seems more probable that it was compiled during the few months that elapsed between the arrival of the *Anne* in September, 1619, and Baffin's departure as master of the *London* at the beginning of February, 1620.[2]

It is important to note in this connection that Roe had himself intended at one time to prepare a map of the country to which he had been accredited. There is no reference to the subject in his extant letters or journal, but the fact is placed beyond doubt by a passage in one of Lord Carew's letters to him (Maclean's edition, p. 123). "Lett me entreat you," wrote the latter, "to be carefull to make the mappe of the Mogolls territorie, as you have intended; itt will be a worke worthye of your selfe and adorne your travell and iudgement, and leave to the world a lasting memorie when you are dust." Doubtless it was with this purpose in view that Roe had compiled (some time before October, 1617) the geographical compendium which has been printed in the foregoing pages. Probably he intended to supplement this by the collection of fresh information as opportunity offered, but was prevented by ill-health and the many other troubles of his mission from following up the matter; and the slenderness of the material he had obtained may have made him all the more willing to commit the task to other hands.

The extent of the assistance afforded to Baffin by Roe must remain largely a matter of conjecture. On the one hand, the manner in which the map differs from the list, often without apparent reason, seems to negative the idea that he had any voice in the matter. That Baffin had a hard—sometimes an impossible—task in reconciling the statements occurring in the list and in locating his provinces from the meagre information available, may

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[1] As the Company had specially desired the preparation of a map of India, Baffin had every reason to exhibit his if he had it ready. The instructions given to Downton in the 1614 voyage had contained a clause directing him to send some fit person to discover "the river of Sinda" and the surrounding country with a view to the preparation of a "trew mappe for our better understandinge of the same;" "and the like mapp" (they continued) "would we haue him drawe exactly of *the whole Country of the great Magoll*, for the Cituation of Agra, Lahor, Biana, etc., and all the riuers whearvppon ther Citties stand and which come down to Cambaya or other places, *which to this day we could neauer haue*." Downton, however, had found no opportunity of carrying out this project.

[2] Of course either January or February, 1620, would be included in 1619 in the old style of reckoning.

be admitted; but it is difficult to see why "the kingdom of the Kakares," which is stated to "border north-east on Kishmier," should have been placed itself to the north-east of that province; or why "Kanduana," which Roe had located (with tolerable accuracy) to the S. W. of Bengal, should have been moved to the far north. Multán is described in Roe's list as "lying vpon Indus," but in the map it is quite away from the river, probably because it is said, by an error, that the "Pen-jab" borders "north-east upon Multan;" while Attock, which Roe had placed, quite rightly, at the junction of the Kábul river with the Indus, is fixed to the south of Lahore. On the other hand, it is almost incredible that Baffin should not have shown at least a draught of the map to the person at whose suggestion (probably) it was undertaken, and who would certainly feel the liveliest interest in such a matter. The fact, too, that Narwar, which is stated in the list to be S.W. of Chitor, should have been changed to the N.E. instead, suggests the influence of Roe, or of someone who, like him, knew enough of western India to make the correction; and the introduction of the "Longe Walke" between Delhi and Lahore, of the Cow's-head gorge at Hardwar, and of "Jallamakee, the pilgrimage of the Banians"—all obviously derived from the narratives of Tom Coryat—may also have been due to the ambassador. Terry's statement that the map was "first made by the 'special observation and direction" of Roe would of course settle the question, if it could be relied on; but it was made many years after the date of publication, and (as we have seen), the reverend gentleman's memory was not to be trusted implicitly. The general attribution of the map to Roe is sufficiently explained by the use made of his name in the title, and the fact that what fresh matter it contained was undoubtedly derived from information supplied by him.

That that information, though often inaccurate, constituted on the whole an important advance, may be seen on comparing Baffin's map with the one given in the standard atlas of the period, viz., the *Gerardi Mercatoris Atlas denuo auctus*, of which a fourth edition was published by Hondius at Amsterdam about 1612.[1] A glance at the latter will shew how little was previously known as regards the interior of the Indian peninsula. The coast line and the chief ports had been given with fair accuracy in Linschoten's map (see the English edition of 1598), from information drawn from Portuguese charts; and in the atlas this is copied fully, though somewhat carelessly. But the interior is still a region to be filled in almost at random. The Indus falls into the Gulf of Cambay (an error which Roe specially emphasizes), while its proper place is occupied by a river called the R. de

[1] This was the atlas presented by Roe to Jahángír and returned by him, as related on pp. 414, 417.

Diul Sinde. Even the best known of the up-country cities—Lahore, Delhi, Agra, Patna, etc.—were located by guesswork: and the whole country is portrayed in a most rudimentary fashion.

In these respects the map drawn by Baffin was a great advance upon its predecessor. The Indus for the first time assumes somewhat of its proper shape, and it is duly identified with the river entering the ocean near Diulsind (Láríbandar). In fact, the whole of western and the greater part of central India may be said to be portrayed with fair, though far from complete, accuracy. Where the difficulty came in was to locate the provinces—such as Jenupar, Bankish, Syba, etc.—which were known only from Roe's list. In that document the indications given were often either too vague to be of use, or else irreconcilable with other statements. The map-maker seems therefore in desperation to have filled them in almost at random, and, as we have seen, most of his guesses were very far from being successful. Vdeza, again, was not recognized as the Orixa of the Portuguese charts; and its erroneous location in Roe's list ("the utmost East of the Mogulls Territories beyond the Bay") led to its insertion between Bengal and Burma, while "Orixa" occupies its proper position.

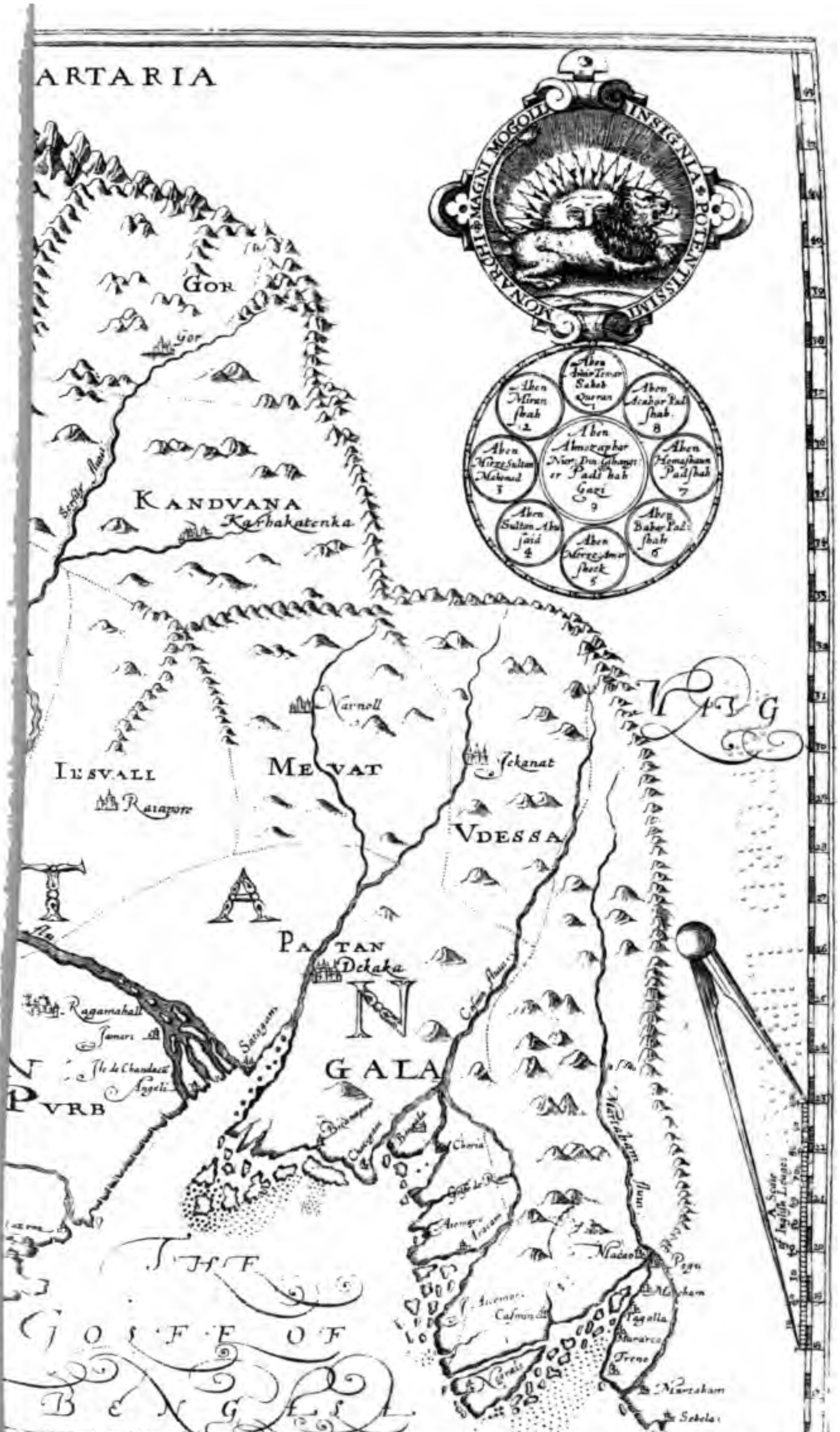
There was at least one re-issue of the map in its separate form. Mr. C. G. Cash, of Edinburgh, possesses a map of India similar to the one under discussion, except that its date is 1632, and that the copies are stated to have been *Printed for Henery Tombes and Beniamin Fisher and are to be soulde at the Talbut without Aldersgate*. Mr. Cash has kindly compared the two in detail, and has found that they are absolutely identical in all other respects, and that the figures in the date are evidently not the original ones. It is clear, therefore, that the plate had been passed on from the first proprietor to Messrs. Tombs and Fisher, who had then issued a fresh impression, after altering the date and inserting their own names.

Some six years after its publication, Baffin's map was re-engraved on a reduced scale for *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, and as the form in which it there appeared is the only one which has hitherto been generally accessible, it may be useful to make a brief comparison. The same engraver, Renold Elstrack, was employed, but his work had nothing like the accuracy of the first edition. In the one case he was working (we may assume) under the superintendence of Baffin; in the other he was left to his own devices. Hence we find that in the later map signs of haste and negligence abound. Elstrack has, in the first instance, marked the Ganges delta as Sinde, for in spite of attempts to erase the name from the plate it may still be read; the frontier of Bengal has had to be corrected, and the alteration has left part of the name outside the boundary of the province; while Haiacan has been turned into Halacan, Brodera into Brodem, Jallamakee into Illamakee, and so on in at least half a dozen

instances. In other respects, the copy follows the original with fair accuracy; but it must always remain a careless and untrustworthy version of Baffin's handiwork.

The next appearance of the map (on a still smaller scale) was in Terry's work in 1655. In this, many of the names of provinces and towns have been omitted; and amongst other mistakes "Ugen" has become "Upen," "Cambay" "Campay," "Buckor" "Bucko," and "Jeselmeere" has been shortened to "Jesel." But the (unknown) engraver avoids some of the errors of Purchas's version, and it is evident that he worked not from the latter but from the 1619 map. Ten years later (1665) the same plate was made use of in the version of Terry which was published as a supplement to Havers' translation of Della Valle's letters (see p. 527). The copy, by the way, given in the 1777 reprint of Terry's book is still more inaccurate than its predecessor.

To follow in detail the influence of Baffin's map on the work of succeeding geographers would carry us beyond our limits. It may suffice to say that it is writ large upon every map of India, English or foreign, which was produced for quite a century. Roe's name lent the map an authority which probably he would have been the first to deprecate; and though later geographers might doubt the accuracy of some of its details, it was only after great hesitation that they ventured to amend them. Consequently, Siba, Nakakutt, Jenupar, Peitan, Kanduana, Jesuall, Meuat and the two Orissas—mostly in the positions assigned by Baffin—appear in turn in the maps of Blaev, Van den Broucke (Valentyn's *Oud en Niew Oost Indien*, vol. v), Sanson, Ogilby, Bernier and even Catrou (1715); and it was not until the advent of scientific map-making with Rennell (who went back for his political divisions to the *Áín* itself) that Indian geography shook off at last the incubus of these and similar errors.


ARTARIA
MAGNI MOGOLI INSIGNIA POTENTISSIMI MONARCHI
Aben Amir Temor Saheb Queran 1
Aben Miran shah 2
Aben Mirze Sultan Mahomed 3
Aben Sultan Abu said 4
Aben Mirze Amir sheek 5
Aben Baber Padshah 6
Aben Homayhaun Padshah 7
Aben Acabar Padshah 8
Aben Abmozaphar Nuer Din Jehanguir Padishah Gazi 9
GOR
Gor
KANDVANA
Karbakatenka
Narnoll
MEVAT
Jekanat
VDESSA
Ratapore
PATAN
Dekaka
Ragamahall
Jamari
Ile de Chandeca
Angeli
PVRB
Satagam
GALA
Chatigam
Arracam
Macao
Pegu
Tagalla
Frene
Martaban
THE GOLFE OF BENGALA
Rinold Elstrack sculp.

APPENDIX B.

I.—THE COMPANY'S AGREEMENT WITH ROE.[1]

(I. O. Records: *Miscellaneous Court Book*, f. 155.[2])

ARTICLES of Agreement made and concluded the Sixteenth daie of November 1614 betwixt the Gouernor and Company of Merchantes of London trading into the East Indies on the one parte, And Sir Thomas Rooe, knight, on thoth[er] parte as followeth:

Whereas the Gouernor and Company haue nomynated the foresaid Sir Thomas Roe and procured his Majestie to employ him as his Embassador to the Grand Magore for the better establishing and setlinge an absolute trade in any partes within the Dominions of the greate Mogore aforesaid,

The said Gouerner and company, finding that they cannot convenyently proporcion any certenty for the expenc[e] of Diett, both for Sir Thomas Roe and his retinewe, doe leaue the managing thereof to his Discrecion, care, and wisdome, relying vpon his frugallity, wherein he promiseth his vttermost endeavors, And to cause a iust accompt to be kept of all expences from the beginning to the End, as alsoe to deliuer vpp a particuler of whatsoever shalbe allowed vnto him by the grand Mogore; And if it shall soe happen that the Grand Mogore shall graunt a daylie or yearely allowance vnto him for his Diett and followers during his abode there to countervaile those expences, That then he shall free the Company from the said chardge.

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[1] Printed in *The First Letter-book of the East India Company* (p. 446), but again reproduced on account of its importance to the subject in hand.

[2] This is only a copy; what became of the original covenants is not known.

The said Sir Thomas Roe doth promise to forbeare all private Trade for himselfe or any other, either directly or indirectly, and doth assure the Company by a faithfull promise to hinder it in others (All that he can) and to giue intelligence vnto them of any that he shall take notice of to offend in that nature or shall by any meanes come to the knowledge of, and wilbe ready to giue his best assistance vnto theire cheife Factor, vpon any occacion, to punish all offenders that shall deserue punishment, according to the quallity of theire offences.

And lastly, to free himselfe from all iust cause of doubt concerning theire stock in the Country, Hee is willing not to intermeddle with any of theire moneyes there, as he doth voluntarily offer, And will not desir aboue the value of One hundred poundes vpon any spetiall occacions, to haue it repaid back againe out of his meanes, when they shall growe due, Promising not to haue to doe with any parte of there merchandize, but to Leaue it wholly to the Managing of theire factors whome they shall appoint for theis purposes.

In consideracion of the premisses, the said Gouernor and Company doe for themselfes and their Successors promise to allowe vnto the said Sir Thomas Roe yerely, for soe long a time as he shalbee imployed in this service, the somme of Six hundred poundes, Three hundred thereof to be paid in the Country at fower shillinges sixpence the Riall, for his maintenance of Apparrell and other expences, And thother Three hundred poundes shall yerely be put into the Joinct stocke to be ymployed for his benifitt proportionablely with all other aduentures. For his better encouragement, whereby to tye his uttermost endeavours to be ymployed for the good of the Company, They were willing to giue him a true Testimony of theire affeccions, And therefore bestowed on him freely the some of Five hundred markes ymprested vpon his Salarie, to dispose of as he should thinke fitting.

The said Gouernor and Company, desiring to be at a certenty concerning the wages of all such servantes as shall attend him, are contented to allowe him a hundred poundes per Annum for him to giue them satisfaccion, besides a preacher and Chirurgion whoe shall haue wages at the Companyes charge, the Preacher 50 *li.* per Annum, and the Chirurgion Twenty and Fower poundes, And did freely bestowe the some of Thirty poundes to be disposed by him for the Liueryes of his said followers, In consideracion whereof he promiseth to entertayne none to attend him but such as the Company shall approve of.

The said Gouerner and Company are likewise contented to deliuer vnto Sir Thomas Roe the somme of Fifteene[1] poundes in hand, being the one halfe of the yerely allowaunce giuen by the Company towardes the entertainement of his followers, and alsoe

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[1] An error for "fifty."

Fiue and Twenty poundes for the halfe of the yearely allowance given by them vnto the Preacher, and Twelue poundes for the like halfe yeares allowance vnto the chirurgion, And for the time ensewing it is agreed to haue them[1] halfe of theire said yearely allowance to be paid vnto Sir Thomas Roe in the Country for theire dischardge.

And lastly, the said Gouernor and company are contented to lend vnto the said Sir Thomas Roe the somme of one hundred poundes to buy plate for his Table, which some he promiseth to repaie back againe at his retorne or deliuer the value thereof in Plate, Or to haue it answered out of his Aduenture, if he die.

Memorandum. Whereas Sir Thomas Roe, Kt., hath receyved the somme of Three hundred thirtie and three poundes six shillinges and Eight pence, parte of the Salary which is to bee allowed him for the ymployment, according to former agreement, whereby there cannot be soe much put into the Jointe stock the first yeare as is formerly mencioned, The said Sir Thomas Roe doth therefore Couenant to haue one hundred markes more of his salarie to make vpp the full of Fower hundred poundes to be paid heare to such as he shall consigne it vnto, and onely Twoe hundred poundes put into the ioynt stock for his vse in this his first yeare of ymployment, The second yeare Three hundred poundes as was formerly resould[2] of, and the like for the Third, which in theis Three yeares will arise to the somme of Eight hundred poundes to be disposed for his benefit in the Joinct stock accordinge to former Couenant and agreement.

In witnes of which agreement and Covenantes concluded, the said Gouernor and Company haue for themselues and there Successours caused theire Common Seale to be fixed to one parte thereof, and the said Sir Thomas Roe hath to the other parte put his hand and Seale the day and yeare first aboue-written.

II.—ROYAL COMMISSION TO SIR THOMAS ROE.

(Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xvi, pp. 775, 776.)

De Tractando cum Monarcha Indiarum Orientalium super Amicitia et Commercio.

JAMES, by the Grace of God, of Great Brittaine, Fraunce and Ireland King, Defendor of the Faith, etc.

Whereas the high and mighty Monarch, the Greate Magoar, King of the Orientall Indyes, of Condahy, of Chismer and of Corasou[3] etc., hath of late confirmed unto our Subjects, under his Great Firma, diverse Rytes, Libertyes and Privileges for their

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[1] "The one" is meant. [2] An error for "resolv[e]d."

[3] Kandahar, Kashmír, and Khorassan.

peaceable Trade and Commerce with his People throughout all his Domynions, promiseinge and undertaking to safe conducte and defende them therein :

We, being ready and desirous on our Parts to correspond in the lyke Offices of Frendshippe with the said Greate Monarch, and to maintayne the Entercourse and Traffique which hath so happylie been begun, have resolved, for better supporting of our said Subjects in their Trade, to sende expressely unto the said Great Magoar our Trusty and Welbeloved Subjecte, Sir Thomas Rowe, knight, a principall Gentleman of our Courte.

Knowe yee therefore that, for the Confidence and Trust which We have in the Fidelity and Discretion of the said Sir Thomas Rowe, We have constituted, appoynted, ordayned and deputed, and hereby do constitute, appoynt, ordayne and depute the said Sir Thomas Rowe our true and undoubted Attorney, Procurator, Legate and Ambassador.

Giving and Graunting unto him full Power and Auctority to treate, as well with the said Greate Monarch, as with any his Servants, Councellors, or other Deputyes to be by him appoynted in that behalfe, and with them agree and conclude concernynge the Maintaynance and Continuance of the Amity and Course of Marchandiz betweene Us, and our Realmes and Dominions, and the Realmes and Dominions of the said Great Magore, and therefore to agree, compound and covenant in such forme, and upon such Articles, Covenants and Conditions as to the same Sir Thomas Rowe shall in his Discretion be thoughte meete for the naturall [mutual ?] Good of both our Subjects :

Promiseing hereby, in good Faith and in our Princely Word, that We will allow, approve and confirm whatsoever our said Ambassador shall doe and agree unto in and concernyng the Premisses.

And whereas it may fall out that, either by the Emulation and Envy of other Nations, who seeke to engrosse the whole Trade of those Parts into their Hands, our said Ambassador might be hindered and interrupted from landing into the said Great Magoare his Country ; or, by the Inconstancy and Mutability of those People, after his first Reception may be driven suddaynlye to retire from thence : for as much as, in either of those Accidents, or uppon any other just Occasion that may fall out to frustrate the execution of the Charge committed to him as aforesaid, the Governor and Company Trading into the East Indies have resolved to use the further Service of the said Sir Thomas Rowe in some of their Shippes for further Discovery into the Redd Seas or any other Places elsewhere :

We, likewise approving and favoring the said Course of our Marchants, doe hereby straightly charge and commande the said Sir Thomas Rowe and all other under his Government that neither in their Voiage outward or homeward, or in any Country,

Iland, Port or Place where they shall abide duryng the tyme of their being abroad, if they mete with any the Subjects of the King of Spayne or of any other our Confederats, Frendes or Allyes, or of any other Nation or People their Ships, Vessels, Goodes or Marchaundizes, they doe not attempt or goe about to set uppon, take or surprise their Persons, Vessels, Goods or Marchandizes or offer any Injury or Discurtesy unto them, except they shall be by them first thereunto justly provoked or driven, either in the just Defence of their own Persons, Shippes, Vessels, Goods or Marchaundizes by any their Disturbance or Hinderance whatsoever in their quiet Course of Trade, or for Recompence and Recovery of the Persons, Shippes, Goods or Marchandizes of any our Subjects that are or have been already in or near the East Indies, or for any other just cause of their Defence or Recompence of Losses sustayned; In which Cases so excepted, yf they attempte, surprise and take the Persons, Shippes and Goods of any Prince or State by whose Subjects they shall sustayne any Wrongs or Losse in manner as aforesaid, they shall not for any such Act or Acts, grounded upon the Occasions abovementioned, be in danger and subject to the Perills and Penalties of our Lawes.

In witness whereof We have caused these our Letters to be made Patents and sealed with our Great Seale.

Given under our Hand, at our Palace of Westminster, the eight[1] Day of January in the twelveth Yere of our Reigne of Great Bryttayne, Fraunce and Ireland, and in the Yeare of our Lord God one thousand six hundred and fourteen [1615].

Per ipsum Regem.

CAREW.

III.—THE KING'S INSTRUCTIONS TO ROE.[2]

(Public Records Office: *E. Indies*, vol. i, No. 44.)

Instruccions for Sir Thomas Rowe, knight, autorised by vs vnder our Great Seale of England to repaire as our Ambassadour to the Great Magoar.

JAMES R.

Whereas wee have given you Commission to negotiate with the Great Magoar or Emperour of the Orientall Indies &c., and also have given you Creditt by our letters for anie thing you shall deal with him or his Ministers Concerning the good and safety of our subiectes Trade and Commerce, Wee have thought good, for

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1 Carte, in some MS. papers preserved in the Bodleian, gives the date as the tenth of January, but he was probably mistaken.

2 A full abstract of these instructions will be found among the Carte MSS. (No. 103, f. 282), in the Bodleian Library.

your further direccion and Carriadge therin, to deliuer you theis instruccions.

First, in your Carriadge, to be Carefull of the preservaccion of our honour and dignity, both as wee are a soveraine Prince and a professed Christian, aswell in your speeches and presentacion of our letters as in all other Circumstances as farre as it standeth with the Custome of those Countries.

Next, that you vse all the Meanes you can to advance the Trade of the East India Company and to procure them all Commodities of safetie and profit that you may, which being the Maine scope of your ymploiment, Wee doe therin referre you to such further direccions and prescripcions as you shall in that behalf at present or hereafter receaue from the said Companie,[1] from which, either towardes the persons of their factors or their Goodes, you are in noe wise to digresse, as you will answeare the Contrarie at your perill.

And if the Great Magoar shall aske you why the Portugalles of Goa or theraboutes doe not agree with our subiectes in those parts, but as Enimies doe vse all hostility against them (their King, our brother of Spaine, being in league and amity with vs), you may thervnto answeare that it is true that there is a Generall league and amity betwixt that King and vs, with libertie of free Trade and accesse to each others dominions, But the Portugalles, desirous to engrosse to themselues the whole Trade and Commerce of those partes of the East Indies, and thereby to keep as it were all those Kinges and Contries vnder their subieccion and Commaund, doe seeke to deprive our subiectes from that libertie of Commerce in those partes which the lawe of Nations doth Cast vpon vs. Yet Notwithstanding, being able to repell their force in those partes by way of defence against their vniust oppressions, Wee are Willing to abstaine from further Actions of offence in respect of our Generall Amity with them.

For all other matters Concerning our state, because those Princes are most apt to seeke to Maintaine Correspondencie with the greatest and Mightiest Princes, wherof they make their particular Judgmentes much by fame and report, their Contries being so farre remote from Meanes to vnderstand them in more particular fashion, you may by way of discourse, the rather to drawe on the Constancie of his affeccion towardes you in your Ambassage and our subiectes, describe more particulerlie the qualitie and Constitucion of our Estate, aswell in regard of the severall Kingdomes and People which Almightie God hath subiected vnto vs, as in those other blessinges which God hath

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[1] The Company's instructions to the ambassador, drawn by William Harrison (their treasurer) and Hugh Hamersley, were approved at a meeting held on January 4, 1615. Unfortunately, no copy is now forthcoming.

bestowed vpon vs and our hopefull Posterity, for the quiet and peaceable governing of the same.

To which Circumstance of Greatnes, you may add the accesse of our power and strength at Sea, which giveth vs not onelie reputacion and autority amongst the Greatest Princes of Christendome, but Maketh vs even a Terrour to all other Nations; Concluding all with this happines, that Wee be not onelie absolutelie obeyed but vniversally beloued and admyred of all our People.

And lastly, forasmuch as in partes remote there may fall out many occasions that may induce you either to send or vndertake a iourney your selfe vnto the bordering Nations, the Emperor of China or any other, for Confirmacion of league and amity with them, to whom also we haue sent our Royall letters to procure trade and Comerce for our loueing Subiectes the Marchantes trading those partes, you may then take holde of such occasion to advance the benefitt of our said Marchantes, whereto cheifly tendeth your employment, and by vertue of this our Comission capitulate with him or any other bordering Nations according to such Instructions as shalbe giuen you by them.

Raphe Winwood.

Signed at Whithall
the 29 of December, 1614.

IV.—LETTER FROM KING JAMES TO THE GREAT MOGUL.

(Purchas's *Pilgrimes*, vol. i, p. 580.[1])

The Kings Letters sent to Selim Shagh,[2] *the Great Mogor, in the yeare* 1614[-15] *by Sir Thomas Roe.*

James, by the Grace of Almightie God, the Creator of Heauen and Earth, King of Great Britaine, France and Ireland, Defendor of the Christian Faith, etc.

To the high and mightie Monarch the Great Mogor, King of the Orientall Indies, of Chandahar, of Chismer and Corazon, &c. Greeting.

We hauing notice of your great fauour toward Vs and Our Subiects, by Your Great *Firma* to all Your Captaines of Riuers and Officers of Your Customes, for the entertaynment of Our louing Subiects the English Nation with all kind respect, at what time soeuer they shall arriue at any of the Ports within Your

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[1] From a copy found by Purchas among Hakluyt's papers.

[2] Salím Sháh, the emperor's proper name. He is, however, always known by the title of Jahángír, which he assumed upon his accession to the throne.

Dominions, and that they may haue quiet Trade and Commerce without any kind of hinderance or molestation, &c., As by the Articles concluded by Suc Suff, Gouernour of the Guzerats, in Your Name, with Our louing Subiect Captaine Thomas Best appeareth: Haue thought it meete to send vnto You Our Ambassadour, which may more fully and at large handle and treate of such matters as are fit to be considered of, concerning that good and friendly correspondence, which is so lately begunne betweene Vs, and which will without doubt redound to the honour and vtilitie of both Nations. In which consideration, and for the furthering of such laudable Commerce, Wee haue made choice of Sir Thomas Roe, Knight, one of the principall Gentlemen of Our Court, to whom Wee haue giuen Commission vnder Our Great Seale of England, together with directions and instructions further to treate of such matters as may be for the continuance and increase of the vtilitie and profit of each others Subiects: to whom We pray You to giue fauour and credit in whatsoeuer Hee shall mooue or propound toward the establishing and enlarging of the same. And for confirmation of our good inclination and wel-wishing toward You, We pray You to accept in good part the Present, which our said Ambassadour will deliuer vnto You. And so doe commit You to the mercifull protection of Almightie God.

V.—THE COMPANY'S INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS IN PERSIA.

(I. O. Records: *Miscellaneous Court Book*, f. 157.[1])

A declaration of the opinions of vs the Gouernor and Company of Merchantes of London trading into the East Indies, what we thinke fitt to set downe as Enstruccions for the right Honourable Sir Thomas Roe, his Maiesties Embassador residing with the great Mogoll, concerning the setling of a Trade in Persia.

First, That your Lordship receiue due informacion from Armenians, Moores, and such other Merchantes as trade out of Persia into the Mogores dominions, of the distance of place wher the Silke is principallye to be had vnto the Port that may be most commodious for our Shippes to repaire vnto.

2. Also to take good knowledge of a sufficient Port, both for fitnes (in regard of repaire and entrance therunto) as also for the saufetye of our people and goodes.

3. Likewise of the quantitye of silke that is yearlye bought by merchantes and exported out of Persia; as also of the currant

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[1] Printed in *The First Letter book of the East India Company*, p. 455. The circumstances in which these instructions were drawn are explained at p. 421.

price that it beareth in those partes ordinarily, and what the charge therof may be by cariage from that place vnto the Port wher wee ar to lade it; To the end that the principall cost and charges may plainlye appeare vnto vs.

4. Which pointes being dulye examined and informacion taken accordinglye, then to consider of some fitting person or persons (two or three at the most) whome you may send to treate with the King of Persia on our Kinges behalf for the establishment of such a Trade with vs as will aunswer with our meanes and ventes of our Commodityes, well enstructed by your Lordshipp in the Articles following, and such other thinges as to you shall seme most convenient; And therin to lymit the charges according to your Lordships discrecion, for that wee haue fownd the expences of Richard Steele to be verie extraordinarye and much distastfull to the Company.

5. And the better to enhable them to treate with the Kinge of Persia or his officers wee haue sent you a Coppie of the Capitulacions agreed vppon betwixt the Kings Maiestie and the Grand Signior for our free trade into Turkey, wherby, with your Lordshipps good helpe, such Articles may be framed ther to be sent with them as may be fit to be presented to the King of Persia for the establishment of what wee desire; least, being referred to their setting downe, somwhat may be mistaken to our disadvantage. And for the better enhabling of your Lordship therin wee haue set downe such other notes as wee thinke fit to be incerted.

To say:

I. That there may be a certaine rate agreed vppon for Customes or Tolles (yf any be ther payable), and that with as much fauor as may be.

II. That ther may be assigned vs a saufe and secure Port, wher our shippes may ride, without perill of the Seas and daunger of the Enemyes, And wher our Mart for the selling of ours and buying of their commodityes may be setled without ouer farre cariage into the Countrye.

III. That wee may haue some good assurance That for their Silke they will accept at the least th'one half of English commodities at reasonable rates, especiallye

Cloath at 20*li.* sterling per Cloath or 80 Ryalls of 8.
Blewe Kersies of 20 yardes per peece, at 25 Ryalls of 8 per peece.
Northerne Kersyes in coulours, of 17 yardes the Kersye, at 16 Ryalls of 8.
Tynne in barres, at 30 Ryalls of 8 the 100 weight English.
Batterye[1] alias Brasse kettles at 40 Ryalls of 8 the 100 weight.
The other half to be paid in ready mony, Spices, and other Indian commodityes.

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[1] *I.e.*, metal utensils wrought by hammering.

6. And the better to explaine our selues what wee desire, That the price of Silke may be contracted for more certaintie and some good assurance giuen that it may be laden cleare of all charges abourd our shipps at a Riall and a half of 8 the pownd of 16 ounces, which is the greatest price that we can resolue to giue and is more then the whight China silke doth cost in the Indies, that is sould here for aboue 20 shillings the pownd of 16 ounces; And this Persian silke sould here (according to ordinarie price) not for aboue 16 shillings the pownd of 16 ounces. At which prices, and good condicions as aforesaid, wee shalbe able to take from the Persian yearlie 8000 Bales of his silke, of 180*li.* English ech Bale or ther aboutes.

Your Lordship may perceiue what our desire is by the premisses; But if you cannot effect it in the same manner and condicions, Then to trye howe neare you may bring it thervnto; And therof to certifye vs with all possible expedicion, That according as wee find cause wee may procede.

VI.—LETTER FROM KING JAMES TO SIR THOMAS ROE.

(Public Records Office: *E. Indies*, vol. i, No. 57.[1])

To our right trustie and well beloued seruant Sir Thomas Roe, Knight, our Ambassadour resident with the Grand Mogull.

JAMES R.

Right trustie and welbeloued, Wee greete you well. Wee haue seen your Letters written vnto vs in February last[2] and we haue bene also more particularly informed by our principall Secretary of the adverticementes which came from you at that tyme in your other private letters; which haue giuen vs very good contentment, being resolued to retaine in a gratious memory the dilligences and dexterity which you haue vsed in your negociations there. In particular we do approue of the entrance of a treaty which you haue begon to make with the Sophy of Persia for the opening of his Gulfe and inlarging the

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[1] Printed in the *Calendar of State Papers, E. Indies*, 1617-21, Preface, p. xxvi.

[2] See p. 132. The present letter was written at the instance of the East India Company, as Roe guessed (p. 479). A note from Smythe to Winwood, asking his assistance in procuring it, is among the MSS. of the Duke of Buccleuch (*Reports of Hist. MSS. Commn.*, 1899, vol. i, p. 180). Its receipt by Roe is noted on p. 430; and his reply will be found on p. 495.

trade of our subiectes into his Dominions, especially for the traffique and commerce of silke; beinge resolued to prosecute the same to effect, accordinge as we shall iudge it requisite vpon the further adverticementes that we shall heerafter receaue from you. In the meanetyme we do authorize you to proceed in your good beginnings and to dispatch into Persia some fit persons with such instructions as you shall receaue from the Gouernour and Committies of the East Indie Company, to ripen and prepare that busines. And moreouer, if you shall find all things there so well prepared that you may come to the conclusion of a treaty to the purpose aboue-named, without further circumstance we do in such case heerby giue you power to perfect and conclude, or cause to be perfected and concluded, a treaty of Comerce betwixt the said great Sophy and vs, for the mutuall good of the subiectes and dominions of vs both, without attending from hence any other directions then a confirmacion only of that treaty, which shalbe by vs foorthwith ratified, according as you shall in our name vndertake the same.

Giuen vnder our signet at our Pallace of Westminster, the 4th of February 1616[-17].

VII.—LETTER FROM THE GREAT MOGUL TO KING JAMES.[1]

(British Museum: *Addl. MS.* 4155, f. 100.)

When your Majestie shall open this lettre lett your royall hart bee as fresh as a sweete garden. Lett all people make reuerence

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[1] This is the document mentioned in the ambassador's letter to King James of February 15, 1618 (see p. 497). The text here given is from a copy in Roe's handwriting, and may therefore be accepted as authoritative. Mr. Sainsbury has printed a slightly different version in the preface to his *Calendar of State Papers, E. Indies*, 1617-21, taken from an undated copy in the Public Record Office (*E. Indies*, vol. i, No. 68); and a third copy, also presenting some unimportant variations, is in *Addl. MS.* 29975 (f. 37). There is further, among the Marquis of Salisbury's MSS. at Hatfield, a document containing (as Mr. R. T. Gunton has been kind enough to ascertain for me) copies of both this and the following letter on a single sheet endorsed, "Two letters from the Great Mogol to his Majesty, 1619;" and yet another copy of the two is among the Carte MSS. in the Bodleian Library (No. 103, f. 280). Terry quotes the opening lines of both, and says (not quite correctly) that one was written a year before the other.

Mr. Sainsbury was unable to assign a date closer than "? 1618." This want is now supplied by Roe's note at the end of the letter.

These salutations are much amplified in phrases in the originall.[1]

at your gate; lett your throne bee aduanced higher; amongst the greatnes of the kyngs of the prophett Jesus lett your Majestie bee the greatest, and all monarchques deriue their counsell and wisedome from your brest as from a founteyne, that the law of the majestie of Jhesus may reuiue and flourish vnder your protection.

In the originall are many titles of honor and prayses cast away vpon mee.

The lettre of loue and frendship which you sent and the presents, tokens of your good affection toward mee, I haue receiued by the hands of your Ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe (who well desserueth to bee your trusted seruant) deliuered to mee in an acceptable and happy houre; vpon which myne eyes were soe fixed that I could not easelye remooue them to any other obiect, and haue accepted them with great joy and delight.

Vpon which assurance of your royall loue I haue giuen my generall command to all the kyngdomes and ports of my Dominions to receiue all the merchantes of the English nation as the subiects of my frend, that in what place soeuer they choose to liue they may haue reception and residence to their owne content and safety, and what goods soeuer they desire to sell or buy, they may haue free libertie without any restraynt; and at what Port soeuer they shall arriue that neyther Portugall nor any other shall dare to molest their quiett; and in what Cytty soeuer they shall haue residence, I haue commanded all my Gouernors and Capteynes to giue them freedome answerable to their owne desires: to sell, buy, and to transport into their Countrie at theire pleasure.

For confirmation of our loue and frendship, I desire your Majestie to Command your merchants to bring in their Shipps of all sorts of rareties and rich goods fitt for my pallace; and that you bee pleased to send mee your royall lettrs by euerye oportunitie that I may reioyce in your health and prosperous affayres; that our frendship may bee enterchanged and eternall.

Your Majestie is learned and quick-sighted as a prophett and can conceiue much by few woords, that I neede write no more.

The God of Heauen giue you and us increase of Honor.

Written in Amadauaz, the cheefe cytty of Guzuratt, sealed in a case of gould Satten, sent to the Ambassador the 20 day feb. 1617[-18] (the coppy firmed by the secretarie), in answere of a lettre by his majestie of Great Brittayne dated 1616[-17]; which should haue beene sent for England by the fleete returned in March 1617[-18], but deteyned because ther was nothing performed according to the contents therof, that therby the Ambassador might vrdge the kyng of Indya to performance or refuse the lettre.

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[1] These are, of course, marginal comments by the ambassador.

VIII.—LETTER FROM THE GREAT MOGUL TO KING JAMES.

(Public Records Office: *E. Indies*, vol. i, No. 67.[1])

Many of these phrases being in the Arabicque (*sic*) cannot bee expressed litterally in English woords: but they import the height of honor and are in their owne dialect very elegant. The translation beares the full sence, many flourishes beeing omitted for the difficultie.

How gratious is your Maiestie, whose greatnes God preserue. As vpon a rose in a garden, so are myne eyes fixed vpon you. God maynteyne your estate that your Monarchy may prosper and bee augmented and that you may obteyne all your desires woorthy the greatnes of your renowne; and as your hart is noble and vpright So lett God giue you a glorious reigne; Because you strongly defend the law of the Maiestie of Ihesus, which God make yett more flourishing,[2] for that it was confirmed by miracles. And the same Honor which God hath giuen vnto Moses and to Jesus, the same God give vnto you.

This clause in the Originall is adorned with many curious prayses.

The lettre of frendship which you wrote vnto mee I haue receiued and haue vnderstood all that was conteyned therin; and all the presents and rareties which you sent mee are deliuered vnto mee, which I haue accepted with much delight, loue and great content, and haue receiued them as if the kyngs my ancestors had sent them to mee. And in whatsoeuer I may giue you the like content I haue giuen my command to all my kyngdomes, subiects and vassalls, as well to the greatest as to the least, and to all my Sea ports, that it is my pleasure and I doe command that to all the English marchants in all my Dominions there bee giuen freedome and residence; and I haue confirmed by my woord that no subiect of my kyngdomes shall bee so bould to doe any Iniurie or molestation to

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[1] In Sir Thomas Roe's hand, and endorsed by him:—"Coppy of the lettre of Ghehangier-sha, great Mogol; and of his agreement and contract for reception of the English, made with Sir Thomas Roe, his maiesties Ambassador, and sent by him to his maiestie, Anno 1618, 8° die August."

A second copy, containing a few unimportant variations and without the marginal notes, forms part of No. 68 in the same volume.

This is the letter delivered to Roe before his departure from Ahmadábád (p. 511) as the Mogul's reply to King James's further letter (of which no copy is extant) presented in December, 1617 (pp. 449, 451).

[2] A striking instance of Jahángír's want of orthodoxy.

This is expressd in the originall by a woord that signifies they shalbe so free as that no man shall meddle att all, but lett them pass without casting an eye vpon them.

the sayd English, and that their goods and merchandise they may sell or traficque with according to their owne will and to their owne content, and that of all things which they desire in my kyngdomes whersoueuer they may buy, carry foorth and trade freely, for that it is my good will and pleasure that they may soe doe; And that all their ships may come and goe to my ports whersoeuer they choose at their owne will. And I haue commanded the great lord Asaph-Chan that he take this contract and busines into his care; that he may farthar giue or enlardge in all mattres belonging to the land or seas, according as I haue giuen my securitie and made agreement; And whatsoeuer the sayd great lord Asaph-chan shall doe shall stand in force as well in any articles of contract as in all other their desires or occasions; and that whatsoeuer goods shall come from your kyngdome hither vnto mee of any kynd or shall goe to you from my kyngdome shall receiue no hinderance nor impediment, but shall pass with honor and frendship.

To whom is added many high titles.

The woords carry a sence that Asaph chan shall grant to the English all their desires, and in these tearmes he receiued his commission.

So God giue your maiestie health.

Written in Amadauaz, the cheefe cytty of Guzeratt, Anno Domini 1618, Mense August, die 8uo.

Sowed in a purse of gould and sealed vp by the *Diuon* at both ends; sent to the Ambassador and the coppy off the records testefied by the Secretarie.

THE EMPEROR'S SEAL.
(*from Terry's "Voyage"*).

APPENDIX C.

NOTES ON THE ILLUSTRATIONS.

PORTRAIT OF SIR THOMAS ROE.

A REPRODUCTION, by the Autotype Company, of the engraving by George Vertue which forms the frontispiece to *The Negotiations of Sir Thomas Roe in his Embassy to the Ottoman Porte*, 1621-28, published in 1740.

The present copy is from a "proof before letters" presented for this purpose by Sir George Birdwood (the lettering which appears on the print has been added by some former owner). In the engraving, as published, the following inscription appears on the pedestal: "SR. THOMAS ROE, Kt., Embassador to the Great Mogul, Grand Signior, Kings of Poland, Sweden and Denmark, the Emperor and Princes of Germany at Ratisbon; Chancellor of the Garter, and Privy Councellor. Obt. An. D. 1644;" while round the rim of the portrait is inscribed *Te colui, Virtus, ut rem, sed nomen inane es*—a Latin rendering of the gloomy sentiment which Brutus is said to have quoted just before his death.

The portrait is stated on the engraving to have been painted by "Mi. M. a Delph," *i.e.*, Michiel Janszen Mierevelt of Delft. The date of its execution is not known; but, as Roe is shown wearing his robes as Chancellor of the Garter, it must necessarily have been after January, 1637.

At the time when it was engraved the painting was in the possession of the Honourable Wills Hill, whose father, Viscount Hillsborough, had married Mary, widow of Sir Edmund Denton and elder daughter and co-heir of Anthony Rowe, the representative of the elder branch of the Roe family. The portrait would

naturally now be looked for at Hillsborough Castle; but the Right Hon. Lord Arthur Hill, in response to an inquiry, has kindly informed the editor that it is not there. A portrait of Roe, depicting him as a young man with dark-brown hair, is preserved at the Castle, and also a painting of Sir Thomas and Lady Roe, ascribed to Vandyke. The latter, by the way, is probably the "Sir Thomas Roe and his Lady, done by Corn. Jansen," referred to in an old list of historical portraits (of date about the end of the seventeenth century) which is now in the possession of Mr. Lionel Cust; and it may also be the "effigy by Vandyke" (to whom pictures by Jansen are often attributed) referred to in Richardson's Preface to the *Negotiations.*

The frame and acessories in the engraving were of course added by Vertue. At the top of the picture a laurel wreath is placed, on one side of which is a shield with the arms of England, and on the other two escutcheons bearing the arms of the Empire and Scandinavia respectively, in allusion to Roe's embassies to those countries. Underneath the portrait the most prominent object is Roe's coat-of-arms: three bezants, on a chevron, between three trefoils slipped. Encircling this is the collar and George of the Order of the Garter; and behind it lie on the one hand the bag of the Chancellor, and on the other his mantle, chain and badge. As befits a lover of learning, books are piled on each side of the pedestal; above these may be seen a document bearing a number of seals, and a Hermes-wand, both alluding to his ambassadorial functions, while in the background is the sword which marks the soldier. Finally, the Oriental headgear and weapons make a special allusion to Roe's missions to Ajmere and Constantinople.

Jahangir and Prince Khurram.

This plate has been copied from *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, vol. ii, p. 1474, where it appears as an illustration to Terry's short sketch of his Indian experiences. As indicated in the superscription, it is taken from the work of a native artist. The Persian inscription at the bottom of the picture has suffered at the hands of the English engraver, and is consequently difficult to read; but Professor Denison Ross renders it as: "In the year [*illegible*] in the town of Bándhú, I, the writer of this, Minuchehr (?), was fifty years of age."

It seems probable that the illustration is a combination of two native miniatures, one containing Jahángír and his attendant, the other Prince Khurram. Jahángír, it will be noticed, has a hawk on his right hand, and grasps a small bird in his left. The Prince holds a small book in one hand and the conventional flower in the other.

Sir Thomas Roe's Letter to Mr. Lescke.

A facsimile of No. 359 of the India Office series of *Original Correspondence.* The text has been printed on p. 168.

Map of Western India, showing Roe's Route.

No special remark is necessary in this case. As already explained (p. 359), Roe's route from Ajmere to Mandú and thence to Ahmadábád has been laid down chiefly from entries in the *Túzak-i-Jahángíri.* His flying visit to Burhánpur from the latter city has not been entered on the map, for the reasons given on p. 503.

Cordial acknowledgments are due to Mr. Ravenstein, who kindly put into form for the draughtsman the editor's original map.

The Emperor Jahangir.

"And now, that my Reader may see the great Mogol in a Portrature (which was taken from a Picture of his drawn to the life) I have caused that to be here inserted, which presents him in his dayly unvaried Habite, as he is bedeckt and adorned with Jewels he continually wears. For the fashion of the Habite in which he is here presented, it is for the fashion the Habite of that whole vast Empire; so that he who strictly views this may see the dresse of the men throughout that whole great Monarchy." —Terry, p. 364.

This portrait is doubtless a copy of a native miniature brought home by Terry. It appears to have been engraved in a careless manner; cp. the poor rendering of the turban, and the hair which is represented as escaping from it at the back.

The Emperor's Standard.

Terry (p. 364), describing this illustration, says that it represents the "royal standard of the Great Mogol, which is a Couchant Lyon shadowing part of the body of the Sun." It is probably adapted from Baffin's map, where a similar drawing is given as the *Insignia Potentissimi Monarchi Magni Mogoll.*

This device appears on many of the portrait-coins issued by Jahángír, with the difference that the face in the sun is missing. In his remarks upon these coins (*Coins of the Moghul Emperors of Hindustán*, p. lxxx), Professor Stanley Lane-Poole says: "The presence of the sun has been explained as a reference to the fact that Jahángír was born on a Sunday; but it is more probable that the sun's image appears in virtue of the tendency

towards solar worship which undoubtedly found encouragement under Akbar, and was never positively repudiated by his successor. It is possible that the choice of the zodiacal sign Leo may be connected with the month (rather than the day) of the Emperor's birth, which was surrounded by mysterious omens and spiritual agencies, if we are to believe the historians." It may be noted, however, that Clavijo in his embassy to the court of Timúr, 1403-6, saw upon a palace in Samarcand "a figure of a lion and a sun," which he says were the arms of the former "lords of Samarcand" (*Embassy of Clavijo*, p. 124); and it would seem, therefore, that Jahángír, whatever his motive, was but reviving an ancient symbol.

Apparently the device was not adopted by any of his successors. It is, of course, well known that the lion and the sun constitute the present badge of the Persian state. In the Persian emblem, however, the lion is to the left, and is represented as "passant guardant," with a curved sword in his right paw.

Portrait of the Rev. Edward Terry.

From the frontispiece to the first edition (1655) of his *Voyage to East India.*

An account of his career has already been given at pp. 246, 377. Further details will be found in the article written by Mr. Stephen Wheeler in the *Dictionary of National Biography.*

William Baffin's Map of Hindustan.

This has been sufficiently described on p. 542.

The Royal Signet of the Great Mogul.

This is the fourth and last (excluding the map) of Terry's illustrations. The following is his explanation of it (pp. 364-367):—

"And after that I have caused his Imperial Signet or great Seal to be laid down before my Readers eyes, where in nine rounds or circles are the Names and Titles of Tamberlane and his lineal successors in Persian words, which I shall make presently to speak English, and (as I conceive) no more in English than what is fully expressed in those original words.

"This Seal, as it is here made in Persian words, the great Mogol, either in a large or lesser figure, causeth to be put unto all *Firmaunes* or Letters Patents, the present Kings Title put in the middle and larger Circle that is surrounded with the rest. The impression whereof is not made in any kinde of Wax but Ink; the Seal put in the middle of the Paper and the writing about it; which Paper there is made very large and smooth and good and in divers colours beside white, and all to write on. And the

words on the Mogols Seal, being imboss't, are put upon both sides of his Silver and Gold Coin (for there is no image upon any of it).[1] And the like little Signets or Seals are used by the great men of that Countrey and so by others of inferiour rank, having their Names at length engraven on them, with which they make impressions or subscriptions, by Ink put on them, to all their acts and deeds, which round Circle is their hand and Seal to.

"For Timar-lang or Tamberlane, he was famous about the year of Christ 1398, in the last year of the Reign of Richard the Second, King of England. And he the first of the Race of those great Monarchs hath a Title which speaks thus :

1. Amir Timur Saheb Ceran,[2] that is *the great Conqueror or Emperor Timur or Tamberlane, Lord possessor of the Corners*, or *of the four Corners of the World.*

2. The second, his Son, was called Mirath-Sha, *the King and inheritor of Conquests*, or *the inheritor of his Fathers Conquests.*[3]

3. The third, his son, was called Mirza Sultan Mahomeds, *the Prince and Commander for Mahomet*, or *the Defender of the Mahometan Religion ;* for this King (as it should seem) was the

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[1] These statements can only be accepted with limitations. The emperor's name and titles appear on the coinage, but not together with those of his ancestors, as on the seal ; and there *were* coins with images on them, though apparently they were not in general circulation.

[2] *Sáhib Qirán*, "Lord of the (auspicious) Conjunction," a title largely used by Timúr. The following quotation from his *Memoirs* (Stewart's translation, p. 13), explains its origin: "A celebrated Astrologer waited on me and delivered a plan of my horoscope, stating that at the time of my birth the planets were in so favourable and auspicious conjunction as certainly to predict the stability and duration of my good fortune and sovereignty ; that I should be superior to all the monarchs of the age ; that whoever were my enemies should be subdued and whoever were my friends should be prosperous ; that I should be the protector of religion, the destroyer of idols, the father of my people ; that my descendants should reign for many generations and that they should be prosperous as long as they continued to support the Muhammadan religion, but if they should deviate therefrom, their dominion would soon be annihilated." As is well known, it was held by astrologers that a grand conjunction of the planets heralded the birth of a child destined to exercise a profound influence upon the history of the world ; and amongst others Abraham, Moses and Muhammad were said to have come into existence under such auspices.

In later years the Emperor Sháh Jahán took the title of *Sáhib Qirán-i Sáni*, or "Second Lord of the (auspicious) Conjunction ;" and the Emperor Jahándár adopted a similar designation.

As Professor Ross suggests, Terry (or his informant) must have confused *qirán* with *karán* ("boundary" or "limit").

[3] Here again the etymology is wrong. Terry is thinking of Pers. *mirás*, "an inheritance." The name should be Mirán Sháh.

first Indostan Emperor that professed Mahometisme, which Tamberlane his Grand-father was a great enemy too, and therefore ever strongly opposed it.[1] But this third Monarch of that line and all his successors since have been Mahometans.

4. The fourth, his son, was called Sultan Abusaid, *the Prince and Father*, or *fountain of Beneficence.*

5. The fifth, his son, was called Mirzee Amir Sheick, *the Imperial Princely Lord.*

6. The sixth, his son, was called Baba Padsha, *the King*, *the Father*, or *the King the Father of his Countrey.*[2]

7. The seventh, his son, was called Hamasaon Podsha, *the King Invincible.*

8. The eighth, his son, was called Achabar Padsha, *the great King*, or *Emperor that is most mighty*, or *the King most mighty.*

9. The ninth, his son, was called Almozaphar Noor Dein Gehangeir Padsha Gaze, *the most warlike and most victorious King*, *the Light of Religion and the Conqueror of the World.*

" Here are very high titles taken by Tamberlane and his successors, and the lower we go the greater still they are ; but the last of them swels biggest of all, calling himself amongst other phansies *the Conqueror of the world*, and so he conceits himself to be."

It is interesting to compare with Terry's figure the one given by Purchas (vol. i, p. 591), and we accordingly reproduce this below. Of course, neither drawing purports to be an exact copy of the seal, but only to give a rough plan of it. The original would probably be a very ornate piece of work, with flowers, for instance, in the spaces between the circles.

Purchas does not mention whence he obtained his drawing, but its superiority over the later production is at once evident. In the first place, there is a great difference in the character of the Persian employed in the two cases. "Though Purchas's drawing," writes Professor Denison Ross, "is obviously not the work of a native, yet, being presumably a first copy of the original, the form of the letters has in most cases been accurately preserved. With regard to the other, this is evidently the work of a European, and copied rather from a transcribed version than from an original." Again, there is an important difference between the two as regards the general arrangement of the names. In the drawing given by Purchas the name and titles of Jahángír stand alone in the innermost circle, while the word *ibn* (" son ") is introduced into each of the other circles in such a way that Jahángír is shown as the "son" of each of his ancestors, and at

[1] This is quite wrong. Timúr and all his descendants were Muhammadans.

[2] Terry's ingenuity has again misled him. The name is not *Bábá* (Father), but *Báber* (Lion).

the same time, reading the names in the right order, each emperor is shown as the son of his predecessor. This is a conceit quite in Oriental style. Terry, on the other hand, gives the genealogy rather in the fashion of an English pedigree. Timúr stands alone at the top, while the *ibn* is prefixed to the name of each of his descendants, including Jahángír. The seal is thus reduced to a string of names, in which Timúr is the most prominent figure and the reigning emperor is only distinguished from the rest by his longer title and its central position. This

The Description of the Great Mogols Seale.

arrangement is far less probable than the former; and taken with the mistakes in the Persian, it seems to give good reason for believing that the drawing given by Terry is not to be trusted as an exact representation of the seal.

It may seem strange that Terry, publishing thirty years later than Purchas, should give a version so much less accurate; but probably what occurred was this. Terry, as we gather from his *Voyage*, had acquired a little Persian and Arabic during his stay in India. When writing his book, or at least when superintending the preparation of the illustrations, he either forgot that Purchas

had given a sketch of the seal, or else he had not a copy of that work at hand. He therefore—we may surmise—took the drawing of the seal on Baffin's map (of which we know he or his engraver had a copy; see p. 546), and did his best to transliterate into Persian the various names and titles there given. Noticing, however, that in Baffin's drawing all the titles are prefaced by "Aben" (*ibn*), he amended it by omitting this from the first circle (Timúr). This theory would account to some extent for Terry's strange form of "Homasaon" (for "Humayun"), which seems to be his improvement upon the "Homashaun" of the map. It is true that, on the other hand, it would not explain the transformation of "Miran;" but this may be due to Terry's desire to find a suitable etymology for the name.

From a curious note by Purchas (vol. i, p. 591), it appears that the seal was not impressed in the usual fashion on the letters sent to James I, but was sent separately, engraved on a silver plate. The note is as follows:—

"I haue heard that Sir Thomas Roe at his Returne, desiring the Great Mogor or Mogoll his Letters of Commendation to His Maiestie, easily obtayned that request, but found him very scrupulous where to set his seale; lest, if vnder, hee should disparage himselfe, if ouer, it might cause distast to the King. His resolution and preuention therefore was this: to send the Letter vnsealed, and the great Seale it selfe, that so His Maiestie might according to his owne pleasure affixe it. The Seale is Siluer."

A similar plan had been adopted with the royal letter delivered to the English factors in March, 1615. Kerridge writes (*O.C.*, No. 270) that the seal was "putt loose therein, which is the Costome, for if itt were on the top itt sheweth superyorytye; if vnderneathe, Inferyorytye; but beinge loose, equallytye. The seale is sett in Inke, hauinge therein eight seuerall names in signettes and himselfe the ninth placed in the Middest, deryuinge himselfe from Tamberlayne, the firste of the nine."

Della Valle, in his *Letters from India* (Hakluyt Society edn., vol. i, p. 51), mentions Jahángír's seal, "the impression whereof I keep by me, wherein is engraven all his pedigree as far as Tamerlane, from whom Sciah Selim reckons himself the eighth descendant."

P.S.—Since the above was put into type, the editor has had an opportunity of examining an imperial *farmán* bearing the seal of Aurangzíb. This confirms the correctness of the arrangement shown in Purchas's drawing, and proves that (as was suspected) Terry's version is entirely wrong.

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V. A General Meeting of the Subscribers shall be held annually. The Secretary's Report on the condition and proceedings of the Society shall be then read, and the meeting shall proceed to elect the Council for the ensuing year.

VI. At each Annual Election, three of the old Council shall retire.

VII. The Council shall meet when necessary for the dispatch of business, three forming a quorum, including the Secretary; the Chairman having a casting vote.

VIII. Gentlemen preparing and editing works for the Society, shall receive twenty-five copies of such works respectively.

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